

How They Would Govern By David Von Drehle ■ **Hidin' Biden** By Karen Tumulty
The Candidates on the Issues ■ **The Battle for Ohio** By Amy Sullivan

TIME

SPECIAL
ISSUE

The Choice

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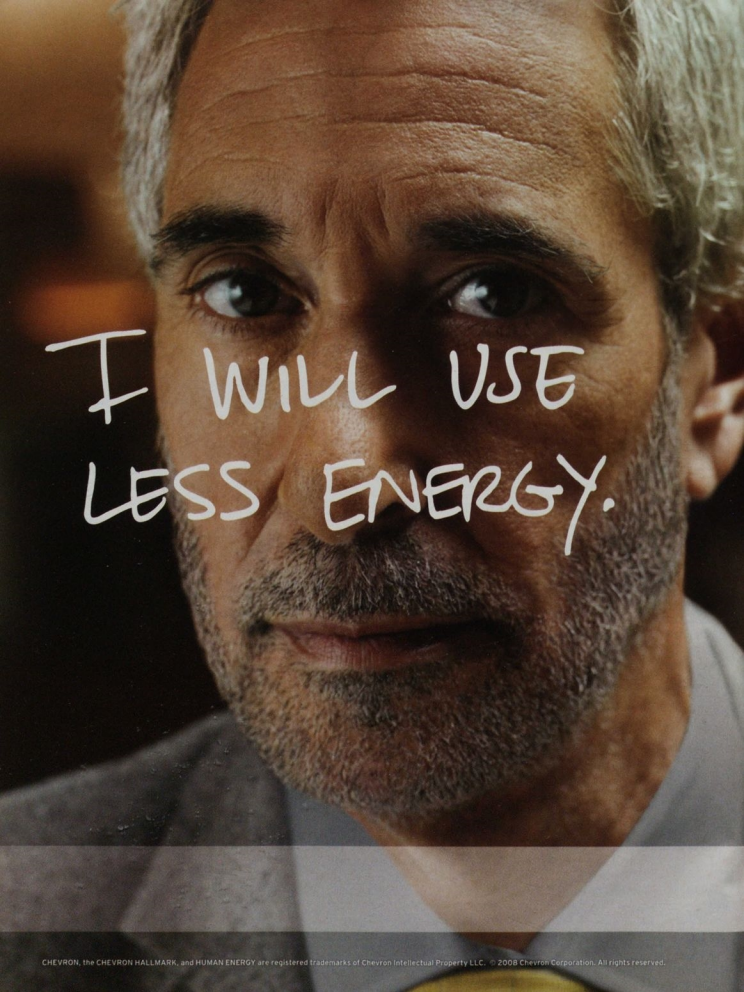
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To Our Readers

The Final Lap. As our political team previews a historic presidential election, we honor a TIME stalwart who made history of his own

THIS ISSUE IS AS TRADITIONAL AS RED, white and blue. We call it The Choice—and for us, it's our last chance to evenhandedly lay out the issues for you before you head into the voting booth on Nov. 4. I think of this as a public service for all of our readers and everyone who will vote. It makes sense because our readers are perfectly representative of the country as a whole: they are Republican and Democratic and independent; they live in red states and blue ones and purple ones. Some of you have made up your minds; some of you haven't. I feel strongly about our role because these days the media are the vessel for so much information—both reliable and otherwise—that people use to vote. In fact, that's our role in our democracy. "Whenever the people are well informed," wrote Thomas Jefferson, "they can be trusted with their own government." Our job is to keep you as well informed as possible.

To that end, this issue features David Von Drehle's smart opening piece about how John McCain or Barack Obama would probably govern and a four-page spread of where the candidates stand on the issues—ably edited by Massimo Calabresi, along with actual responses from Obama and McCain. Adding to the mix are Karen Tumulty's story on the Joe Biden campaign, Jim Poniewozik on how the media have covered the candidates, John Cloud on the secretive group that is reshaping gay politics, reports by Andrew Lee Butters and Aryn Baker on Iraq and Afghanistan, and reflections on Campaign 2008 from a range of voices, from Garry Wills to Bill O'Reilly. I promise you that if you read all of that, you will be abundantly well informed.

SPEAKING OF TRADITION, RECENTLY, OUR president and worldwide publisher, Ed McCarrick, announced his retirement after 35 years at Time Inc. I cannot write those words without hearing Ed's wonderful baritone intoning, "I've had the great, good fortune of working here for 35 years." Well, I've had the great, good fortune of working with Ed for the past 2½ years, and TIME has had the great,

good fortune of having Ed's drive and enthusiasm and deep loyalty for 25 of those 35 years. Ed was also fond of saying "I bleed TIME red," and he does. I know of no one who believes in our mission as devoutly and who has served it as ably. In just the past six years, Ed has been instrumental in changing our publication date to Friday, in igniting TIME International's explosive growth, in developing TIME.com into a must-read destination and in launching TIME's Style & Design luxury supplement. More than all of that, Ed was a vocal champion

of the great journalism that we do every week in the magazine and every day on TIME.com. We will miss his good humor and fierce loyalty, but his impact will live on in what we do every day. I know of no greater legacy than that.

Rich

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



Campaign '08 Von Drehle and Tumulty interview Obama, above; Cloud, right, explores gay politics; Baker, center right, reports from Afghanistan; and Calabresi, far right, sizes up both candidates on the issues



Leaving a legacy TIME president and worldwide publisher McCarrick is stepping down after 35 years of innovation at Time Inc.

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Enbrel® (etanercept) is indicated for the treatment of adult patients (18 years or older) with chronic moderate to severe plaque psoriasis who are candidates for systemic therapy or phototherapy.

Important Safety Information

What important safety information do I need to know about taking prescription ENBREL?

ENBREL is a type of protein called a tumor necrosis factor (TNF) blocker that blocks the action of a substance your body's immune system makes called TNF. People with an immune disease, such as rheumatoid arthritis, juvenile idiopathic arthritis, ankylosing spondylitis, psoriatic arthritis, or psoriasis, have too much TNF in their bodies.

ENBREL can reduce the amount of active TNF in the body to normal levels, helping to treat your disease. But, in doing so, ENBREL can also lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections.

Serious infections, including tuberculosis (TB), have happened in patients taking ENBREL. Some of these serious infections have been fatal. Many serious infections occurred in people prone to infection. Serious infections have also occurred in patients with advanced or poorly controlled diabetes. Do not start ENBREL if you have an infection or are allergic to ENBREL or its components. Once on ENBREL, if you get an infection or have any sign of an infection, including fever, cough, or flu-like symptoms, or have

open sores, tell your doctor. Your doctor should tell you for TB before starting ENBREL and should monitor you closely for signs and symptoms of TB.

Serious nervous system disorders, such as multiple sclerosis, seizures, or inflammation of the nerves of the eyes have been reported. There have been rare reports of serious blood disorders (some fatal).

In medical studies, more cases of lymphoma (a type of cancer) were seen in patients taking TNF blockers compared to similar patients who were not taking TNF blockers. The risk of lymphoma may be several-fold higher in people with rheumatoid arthritis and psoriasis; the role of TNF blockers in the development of malignancies is unknown.

"I HAD ENOUGH OF MY PSORIASIS.

So, I asked my dermatologist about ENBREL."

For many, ENBREL gets skin clearer fast—within 2 months—and keeps it clearer month after month. Improvement lasted up to 9 months for a majority that saw results. While it doesn't work for everyone, and may not clear you completely, it's helped many patients get clearer skin. Your results may vary. In medical studies, nearly half of patients saw significant improvement.

Learn more about moderate to severe plaque psoriasis, ENBREL, and patient support. Call 1-877-ENBREL4 or visit www.enbrel.com

Talk to your dermatologist today about ENBREL.
BECAUSE ENOUGH IS ENOUGH.

Tell your doctor if you:

- Think you have, are being treated for, have signs of, or are prone to infection
- Have any open sores
- Have or have had TB or hepatitis B
- Have ever been treated for heart failure
- Have ever had or develop a serious nervous system disorder
- Develop symptoms such as persistent fever, bruising, bleeding, or paleness while taking ENBREL

Common side effects in adult clinical trials were injection site reaction, infection and headache.

If you have any questions about this information, be sure to discuss them with your doctor. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see Medication Guide on the following page.



Medication Guide ENBREL® (en-brel) (etanercept)



Read the Medication Guide that comes with ENBREL® before you start using it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Medication Guide does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or treatment with ENBREL®.

What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL®?

ENBREL® is a medicine that affects your immune system. ENBREL® can lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. Serious infections, including tuberculosis (TB), have happened in patients taking ENBREL®. Some patients have died from these serious infections.

Before starting ENBREL®, tell your doctor if you:

- think you have an infection
- are being treated for an infection
- have signs of an infection, such as a fever, cough, flu-like symptoms
- have any open sores on your body
- get a lot of infections or have infections that keep coming back
- have diabetes or an immune system problem. People with these conditions have a higher chance for infections.
- have tuberculosis (TB), or if you have been in close contact with someone who has had tuberculosis
 - Your doctor should test you for TB before starting ENBREL®.
- Your doctor should monitor you closely for signs and symptoms of TB during treatment with ENBREL®
- use the medicine Kineret® (anakinra)
- have or have had hepatitis B

After starting ENBREL®, if you get an infection, any sign of an infection including a fever, cough, flu-like symptoms, or have any open sores on your body, call your doctor right away.

ENBREL® can make you more likely to get infections or make any infection that you may have worse.

What is ENBREL®?

ENBREL® is a medicine called a Tumor Necrosis Factor (TNF) blocker. ENBREL® is used in adults to treat:

- **moderately to severely active rheumatoid arthritis (RA).** ENBREL® can be used alone or with a medicine called methotrexate.
 - **psoriatic arthritis.** ENBREL® can be used with methotrexate in patients who have not responded well to methotrexate alone.
 - **ankylosing spondylitis (AS)**
 - **chronic, moderate to severe psoriasis**
- ENBREL® is used in children ages 2 years and older to treat **moderately to severely active polyarticular juvenile idiopathic arthritis (JIA).** ENBREL® has not been studied in children under 2 years of age.

ENBREL® can help reduce joint damage, and the signs and symptoms of the above mentioned diseases. People with these diseases have too much protein called tumor necrosis factor (TNF), which is made by your immune system. ENBREL® can reduce the amount of TNF in the body to normal levels and block the damage that too much TNF can cause, but it can also lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. See "What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL®?" and "What are the possible side effects of ENBREL®?"

Who should not use ENBREL®?

Do not use ENBREL® if you:

- have an infection that has spread through your body (sepsis)
- have ever had an allergic reaction to ENBREL®

What should I tell my doctor before starting ENBREL®?

ENBREL® may not be right for you. Before starting ENBREL®, tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have an infection. (See "What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL®?")

- have seizures, any numbness or tingling, or a disease that affects your nervous system such as multiple sclerosis
- have heart failure
- are scheduled to have surgery
- are scheduled for any vaccines. All vaccines should be brought up-to-date before starting ENBREL®. Patients taking ENBREL® should not receive live vaccines.
- are allergic to rubber or latex. The needle cover on the single-use prefilled syringe and the single-use prefilled SureClick® autoinjector contains latex.

Tell your doctor if you are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding. ENBREL® has not been studied in pregnant women or nursing mothers.

Pregnancy Registry: Amgen has a nursing for pregnant women exposed to ENBREL®. The purpose of this registry is to check the health of the pregnant mother and her child. Talk to your doctor if you are pregnant and contact the registry at 1-877-311-8972.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. Your doctor will tell you if it is okay to take your other medicines while taking ENBREL®. Especially, tell your doctor if you take:

- Kineret® (anakinra). You have a higher chance for serious infections when taking ENBREL® with Kineret®.
- cyclophosphamide. You may have a higher chance for getting certain cancers when taking ENBREL® with cyclophosphamide.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

How should I use ENBREL®?

See the Patient Instructions for Use that comes with your ENBREL® product for complete instructions. ENBREL® is available as:

- ENBREL® Single-use Prefilled Syringe
- ENBREL® Single-use Prefilled SureClick® Autoinjector
- ENBREL® Multiple-use Vial
- ENBREL® is given by injection under the skin
- Make sure you have been shown how to inject ENBREL® before you do it yourself. Someone you know can also help you with your injection.
- Your doctor will tell you how often you should use ENBREL®. This is based on your condition to be treated. **Do not use ENBREL® more often than prescribed.**
- Do not miss any doses of ENBREL®. Call your doctor if you miss a dose of ENBREL®. Your doctor will tell you when to take your missed dose.
- Your child's weekly dose of ENBREL® depends on his or her weight. Your child's doctor will tell you which form of ENBREL® to use and how much to give your child.

What are the possible side effects of ENBREL®?

Serious side effects have happened in people taking ENBREL®, including:

- **Serious Infections including tuberculosis (TB).** See "What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL®?"
- **Nervous system problems** such as Multiple Sclerosis, seizures, or inflammation of the nerves of the eyes have occurred in rare cases. Symptoms include numbness or tingling, problems with your vision, weakness in your arms and legs, and dizziness.
- **Blood problems.** In rare cases, your body may not make enough of the blood cells that help fight infections or help stop bleeding. This can lead to death. Symptoms include a fever that doesn't go away,

- bruising or bleeding very easily, or looking very pale.
- **Heart failure including new heart failure or worsening of heart failure you already have.** Symptoms include shortness of breath or swelling of your ankles and feet.
- **Allergic reactions.** Signs of an allergic reaction include a severe rash, a swollen face, or trouble breathing.
- **Immune reactions including a lupus-like syndrome.** Symptoms include a rash on your face and arms that gets worse in the sun. Symptoms may go away when you stop taking ENBREL®.
- **Lymphoma (a type of cancer).** People with rheumatoid arthritis or psoriasis may have a higher chance for getting lymphoma.

Call your doctor right away if you develop any of the above symptoms.

Common side effects of ENBREL® include:

- **Injection site reactions** such as redness, rash, swelling, itching, or bruising. These symptoms usually go away within 3 to 5 days. If you have pain, redness or swelling around the injection site that doesn't go away or gets worse, call your doctor.
- **Upper respiratory infections** (sinus infections)
- **Headaches**

These are not all the side effects with ENBREL®. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

How should I store ENBREL®?

- Store ENBREL® in the refrigerator at 36° to 46°F (2° to 8°C).
- **Do not freeze.**
- Keep ENBREL® in the original carton to protect from light.
- **Keep ENBREL® and all medicines out of the reach of children.**

General Information about ENBREL®

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes not mentioned in a Medication Guide. Do not use ENBREL® for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ENBREL® to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them and it is against the law. This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about ENBREL®. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about ENBREL® that was written for healthcare professionals. For more information call 1-888-4ENBREL (1-888-436-2735).

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

What are the ingredients in ENBREL® Single-use Prefilled Syringe and the Single-use Prefilled SureClick® Autoinjector?

Active Ingredient: etanercept

Inactive Ingredients: sucrose, sodium chloride, L-arginine hydrochloride and sodium phosphate

What are the ingredients in ENBREL® Multiple-use Vial?

Active Ingredient: etanercept

Inactive Ingredients: mannitol, sucrose, tromethamine.

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Postcard: Cooktown. Once hunted with gusto, Australia's man-eating crocs are being treated with a deference some doubt they deserve. **Going soft on crocodile crime**

BY RORY CALLINAN

WHEN SALTWATER CROCODILES killed a human on Australia's northeast coast in the old days, a posse of gun-toting locals would converge on the area, blast all the crocs to death, slit open their bellies to establish guilt, and release the unfortunate victim's remains for a decent burial. But in these environmentally enlightened times, authorities are taking a very different approach—and not everybody is happy about it.

Inhabiting the tidal estuaries around Australia's northern coast, the crocs, or salties, as they're known locally, grow to more than 17 ft. and can weigh over a ton. They lurk near river crossings, where they lie motionless, half submerged in muddy shallows, then explode out of the water to seize an animal as large as a horse or a cow, drag it underwater and roll with it until it drowns.

Such behavior was little tolerated by the region's early settlers, who would cheerfully shoot the reptiles on sight—all the more eagerly once a market for their skins began to grow. But in 1971, amid fears for the species' survival, hunting crocodiles was outlawed. Croc numbers have since recovered, but whenever a human dies in an attack—about once a year in Australia—a row erupts over whether protecting such a deadly predator is justified.

The debate was reopened in late September when Arthur Booker, 62, wandered down to retrieve his crab pots on the mangrove-lined banks of the Endeavour River, near Cooktown, in the northeastern state of Queensland. Lying in wait was a large crocodile, which is thought to have dragged the Scottish-born camper into the water and eaten him, leaving only his sandals, watch and video camera beside a huge belly-slide mark.

The state government quickly dispatched two dozen wildlife rangers to collect any aggressive crocodiles in the area



Mouths to feed A protected species, Australia's crocodiles now number more than 100,000

and search for Booker's remains. Within days, traps anchored to the banks of the river snared three potential man-eaters. But instead of executing and disemboweling the reptiles, the rangers gently loaded them into trailers and transported them to Cairns, 160 miles to the south, where they were X-rayed. Two were also given an endoscopy, with a tiny camera passed into their stomach to probe for Booker's remains.

Queensland's chief wildlife manager, Mike Devery, defended the costly operation, saying the animals were listed as vulnerable under the state's Nature Conservation Act, which labels crocodiles over 13 ft. long "iconic." But the kid-glove treatment outraged many locals, including Member of Parliament Bob Katter, a blunt-spoken, cowboy-hatted cattle rancher whose 218,000-sq.-mi. district is home to thousands of wild crocodiles.

Katter accused the government of making human sacrifices to a crocodile god, saying, "The only time I'd like to see that croc is through the sights of my

rifle." Once, if a crocodile ate a human, all crocodiles in the area would be shot immediately, he says. "Now they are getting X-rays. You've got patients who can't get X-rays or endoscopies in Queensland's hospitals, but a crocodile can get one."

Arguing that crocodile numbers are booming, Katter has called for a cull. "They're wandering into people's backyards," he says. Andrew McNamara, Queensland's environment minister, says that numbers have increased only slightly since the ban on hunting was imposed and that for safety's sake, animals over 6½ ft. long are removed from urban areas. Queensland crocodile expert Gordon Grigg says culling is futile: "You can never be sure you've got them all, and it risks giving people a false sense of security."

Forensic scientists are testing suspected human remains found in one of the three crocodiles captured after Booker's disappearance: a three-legged, 14-ft. brute. Culprit or not, its life will be spared. To the dismay of Katter and other nostalgic northerners, its next role will be as a stud on a crocodile farm rather than as an array of handbags and shoes. ■



10 Questions. The billionaire oilman is selling his plan for renewable energy. **T. Boone Pickens will now take your questions**

Do you envision an energy plan that will eventually lead to the U.S. no longer being dependent on fossil fuels?

Paul Frost, IONIA, MICH.
That'll be a long time off. What I envision is we're going to have to use every resource we have. I want to get off of foreign oil. When I say off foreign oil, I'm O.K. with Canadian oil. I'm O.K. with oil from Mexico. In 10 years, if I was running the operation, I think I could have us where we had reduced oil by 50%.

If you believe that we need cleaner, more independent sources of energy, how will you help convince those who will still profit from oil?

*Andrew Rowley
SPOKANE, WASH.*

The profit from oil—we peaked in America in 1970 with 10 million bbl. a day. We're down to 5 [million bbl.] now. There will always be a place for oil, but we have to get over to the renewables, which are wind and solar, first. Those are assets that we have done nothing with in America.

In light of President Bush's record on the environment, do you think supporting the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth was a good choice, insofar as it contributed to his re-election?

Brian Checco, BALTIMORE
Have I been disappointed Bush didn't make any meaningful move toward cleaner, domestic natural gas as an alternative to foreign oil? Probably. But did that weigh into my Swift Boat support? Not at all. I had serious questions about [John Kerry's] military service, and he never would answer them.



Boone Pickens
The "Pickens Plan" will save our ass (America).

Do you believe it will be more difficult to mobilize a bipartisan environmental effort due to your past political affiliations?

Kevin Busemeier, BROOKLYN, N.Y.
I don't think my past political affiliations will have anything to do with it. I've worked very well on the Pickens Plan with the Democrat side and the Republican side. I've talked to both Senator McCain and Obama. And I've talked to Governor Palin. They took some of the things we talked about, and they use them in their speeches now.

Why do you all of a sudden want alternative energy when you have been an oilman your whole life? Have you separated yourself from the oil industry?

Todd Weiler, SAN DIEGO

No, I haven't separated myself from the oil industry. I still believe that's a part of the solution. We're going to have to drill, we're going to have to do the renewables, and we've got to use natural gas, biofuels—any resource in America.

Do you believe the next Administration will have the ability to directly effect change in the economy, or will this economy shape the next Administration?

Chris Hirsh, BERKELEY, CALIF.
The economy is overwhelming. There's no question we're in a recession. I think in another six months, we'll find out whether we can come out of it in the first half of 2010. I don't think we know what we're up against because we get surprises every week.

Would you ever consider a position as an energy czar in the next Administration?

*David Dalgleish
COMSTOCK PARK, MICH.*
I would consider anything that would help America.

Are you the Ross Perot of 2008? Or are you more like the Ralph Nader?

John Gilmore, INDIANAPOLIS
I'm like the Boone Pickens. I don't think I'm like anybody else. Both Nader and Perot had some good ideas. But I'm still the only person in America with an energy plan. To date, there isn't anybody in Washington that I've found who really understands the energy problem.

Is the first billion really the hardest?

Tom Sexton, WHITESBURG, KY.
Well, I was 70 before I made it, so I plowed for a long time before I made a billion.

What is the best advice you've received from anyone?

*Francisco Sarmiento
SAN FRANCISCO*
I can still remember one of the things my grandmother, who lived next door to me, [said when] I was 12 years old. She said, "Sonny, someday everybody has to sit on their own bottom." You're gonna be responsible for your life and what you do in your life. That's what she was telling me. Work hard.



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch a video interview with **T. Boone Pickens** and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to time.com/10questions

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Two Candidates, Two Styles

RE "DOES TEMPERAMENT MATTER?": Throughout his career, John McCain has shown himself willing to put others at risk to advance his career or his causes [Oct. 27]. Like President Bush, he is a person who shoots from the hip, invites conflict and sees compromise as a sign of weakness rather than a path to progress. His impulsiveness has been evident this fall in rash decisions such as selecting Sarah Palin and suspending his campaign. While his supporters call him a maverick, I call him reckless. And as the past eight years have shown, recklessness is not what we need in a President. We need someone with intelligence, composure, discipline and restraint.

Robert J. Inlow, CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

THERE IS NO QUESTION AS TO WHICH CANDIDATE is qualified to serve this great country. McCain is ready to stand up and fight for our country and our freedom. He won't just be "present" while looking cool and working on his next book deal.

Sharon Peterson

CLINTON TOWNSHIP, MICH.

EXAMINING LEADERSHIP STYLE GIVES some insight into how the candidates might govern. McCain exhibits the characteristics of a troubleshooter. This type of leader tends to deal with the here and now, is action-oriented, sees problems as separate issues and is primarily reactive. Barack Obama is more of a visionary, seeing a bigger, intertwined picture. For example, the visionary would perceive energy as an issue related to our security, the environment, our domestic economy and foreign policy. The troubleshooter, McCain, tends to approach energy by proposing immediate fixes: opening areas for drilling, now; building nuclear plants; reducing restrictions. While style is no guarantee of competence, Obama's fits the country's needs.

James A. Savage Jr., HOLLY SPRINGS, N.C.

THOUGH MANY PUNDITS ACCUSE OBAMA OF being too cool, I do think some of it is on purpose. Imagine being the first African American with a real shot at the job. A hot-headed, emotional approach could make many whites uncomfortable. If Obama is

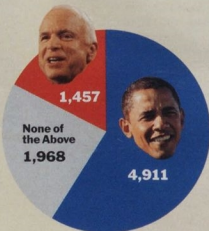
COVER POLL: FIXING THE ECONOMY



The cover of TIME's Oct. 6 issue doubled as a ballot, prompting readers to select which presidential candidate—John McCain, Barack

Obama or None of the Above—would be best suited to the challenging task of rescuing the economy. The verdict? Of the more than 8,000 covers sent in, Obama received the most votes by far.

Who can rescue the economy?



elected and does the job well, the next time an African American runs, he or she will be freer to act less controlled.

Diane Lake, MACHESNEY PARK, ILL.

WHICH CANDIDATE HAS GERALD FORD'S fundamental decency? Both. Jimmy Carter's discipline? Obama. Ronald Reagan's sunny optimism? Obama. George H.W. Bush's diplomatic instincts? Both. Bill Clinton's intellectual curiosity? Obama. George W. Bush's dogged determination? Both. The score: Obama 6, McCain 3.

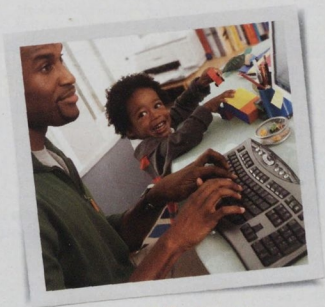
Victoria Brago, LOS ANGELES

Know Your Economic ABCs

THE ONLY THING MORE CONFUSING THAN the byzantine course Justin Fox traverses in asserting that McCain was right about the economy's fundamentals being strong is his claim that Palin was "on to something" when she elaborated [Oct. 27]. Even a cursory look at high school math

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and science scores makes our workforce's challenges more than clear—a point Fox ignores while lauding the productivity of our still shrinking manufacturing base. That's a little like cheering the season-ending win by a losing team.

Anthony Noel, GREENVILLE, N.C.

What the World Needs Now

I APPRECIATED MICHAEL KINSLEY'S ESSAY on the desirable leadership quality that is toxic to mention because of its allegedly elitist overtones: intelligence [Oct. 27]. I have long felt that U.S. presidential candidates, much like graduate students, should be subject to a preliminary examination in their area of expertise. Candidates should have some knowledge of, if not proficiency in, world history, religions, cultures, geography. As it is now, we assume the media and debates will ferret out deficiencies in candidates' education that might lead to serious, perhaps deadly decisions—and that is not always the case.

Marcetta Darendsbourg
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

KINSLEY IS CORRECT TO SAY WE NEED leaders brave enough to practice asstringency, telling people what they don't want to hear. But his example of a leader who was great because he was asstringent—Winston Churchill—never won an election through asstringency. Throughout the 1930s, when he was warning of the Nazi peril, he was almost uniformly rejected as a crank. He was not elected Prime Minister in 1940; rather, he was installed by a Parliament that deferred general elections until after the war. And when one was finally held, in 1945, the British people promptly voted Churchill out of office. We need not only great leaders but also a public great enough to accept their leadership.

M.L. Cross, STEPHENVILLE, TEXAS

The New, Old Educational Trend

GREAT ARTICLE ON COLLEGE-FRESHMAN living [Oct. 27]. In the early '50s, I had the good fortune to attend the Emerson School for Boys, a small, private boarding school in Exeter, N.H., with four dormitories, each overseen by a resident teacher and his or her family if he or she had one.

It was a marvelous experience. There was a lot of bonding and a superior education. We all studied, ate and played together and were expected to continue into higher education without a stumble or hiccup. What goes around comes around.

Niles Getz, THE VILLAGES, FLA.

Health Insurance: No Shortcuts

THE \$30-PER-MONTH POLICY YOU DESCRIBE should not be allowed in the medical-insurance marketplace [Oct. 27]. The very people attracted to it cannot afford the risk of a catastrophic illness. People should buy high-deductible insurance only if they have the savings to cover potential debt from a serious illness. Physicians and hospitals cannot afford to provide care for patients with these high-deductible policies because the risk that there will be no reimbursement whatsoever is too high. Doctors' visits and hospital services are not free; everyone knows that. One can argue whether they are too expensive, but we cannot afford pseudo insurance with unrealistic terms and conditions any more than we can afford the consequences of the current mortgage meltdown.

Jeffrey Kaufman, M.D.
LONGMEADOW, MASS.

A New U.S. Volunteer Corps

WALTER ISAACSON PERSUASIVELY PRESENTS the case for a Civilian Reserve Corps that would harness the skills of American engineers, doctors, judges and teachers to help in troubled areas [Sept. 22]. I am pleased to inform TIME's readers that such a group, the Civilian Response Corps, is already coming into existence. The Corps will consist of Active, Standby and Reserve components. The Active and Standby components, which will be prepared to deploy abroad rapidly, will draw on the expertise and experience of U.S. government employees from eight departments and agencies. We are in the final planning stages for the Reserve. For Americans willing to make a commitment to service for a limited period of time, their experience with the Civilian Response Corps could change the way they see the world and, perhaps more important, change the way many in the world see us. The next President will have in his first year in office a new instrument to manage one of the principal national-security challenges of the 21st century.

Ambassador John E. Herbst, Coordinator for
the Office of Reconstruction and Stabilization,
U.S. State Department
WASHINGTON

'Any dog breeder will tell you temperament is a crucial aspect of breeding. Why should it mean anything less for a President?'

Deb Grier, DUVALL, WASH.




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Important Safety Information: LUNESTA helps you fall asleep quickly, so take it right before bed. Be sure you have at least eight hours to devote to sleep before becoming active. Until you know how you will react to LUNESTA, you should not drive or operate machinery. Do not take LUNESTA with alcohol. Call your doctor if your insomnia worsens or is not better within 7 to 10 days. This may mean that there is another condition causing your sleep problems. Call your doctor right away if after taking LUNESTA you walk, drive, eat or engage in other activities while asleep. In rare cases, severe allergic reactions can occur. Most sleep medications carry some risk of dependency. Do not use sleep medicines for extended periods without first talking to your doctor. Side effects may include unpleasant taste, headache, drowsiness and dizziness. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088. See important patient information on the next page.

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Important Patient Information

LUNESTA® (lū'-nes'-lā) Tablets, Coated C-IV (eszopiclone)

Read the Medication Guide that comes with LUNESTA before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. The Medication Guide does not take the place of talking to your doctor about your medical condition or treatment.

What is the most important information I should know about LUNESTA?

After taking LUNESTA, you may get up out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing. The next morning, you may not remember that you did anything during the night. You have a higher chance for doing these activities if you drink alcohol or take other medicines that make you sleepy with LUNESTA. Reported activities include:

- driving a car ("sleep-driving")
- making and eating food
- talking on the phone
- having sex
- sleep-walking

Call your doctor right away if you find out that you have done any of the above activities after taking LUNESTA.

Important:

1. Take LUNESTA exactly as prescribed

- Do not take more LUNESTA than prescribed.
- Take LUNESTA right before you get in bed, not sooner.

2. Do not take LUNESTA if you:

- drink alcohol
- keep other medicines that can make you sleepy. Talk to your doctor about all of your medicines. Your doctor will tell you if you can take LUNESTA with your other medicines
- cannot get a full night's sleep

What is LUNESTA?

LUNESTA is a sedative-hypnotic (sleep) medicine. LUNESTA is used in adults for the treatment of a sleep problem called insomnia. Symptoms of insomnia include:

- trouble falling asleep
- waking up often during the night

LUNESTA is not for children.

LUNESTA is a federally controlled substance (C-IV) because it can be abused or lead to dependence. Keep LUNESTA in a safe place to prevent misuse and abuse. Selling or giving away LUNESTA may harm others, and is against the law. Tell your doctor if you have ever abused or been dependent on alcohol, prescription medicines or street drugs.

Who should not take LUNESTA?

Do not take LUNESTA if you are allergic to anything in it.

See the end of this page for a complete list of ingredients in LUNESTA.

LUNESTA may not be right for you. Before starting LUNESTA, tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have a history of depression, mental illness, or suicidal thoughts
- have a history of drug or alcohol abuse or addiction
- have liver disease
- are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding

Tell your doctor about all of the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. Medicines can interact with each other, sometimes causing serious side effects. **Do not take LUNESTA with other medicines that can make you sleepy.**

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

How should I take LUNESTA?

- Take LUNESTA exactly as prescribed. Do not take more LUNESTA than prescribed by you.
- Take LUNESTA right before you get into bed.
- Do not take LUNESTA with or right after a meal.
- Do not take LUNESTA unless you are able to get a full night's sleep before you must be active again.
- Call your doctor if your insomnia worsens or is not better within 7 to 10 days. This may mean that there is another condition causing your sleep problems.
- If you take too much LUNESTA or overdose, call your doctor or poison control center right away, or get emergency treatment.

What are the possible side effects of LUNESTA?

Possible serious side effects of LUNESTA include:

- getting out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing. (See "What is the most important information I should know about LUNESTA?")
- abnormal thoughts and behavior. Symptoms include more outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal, confusion, agitation, hallucinations, worsening of depression, and suicidal thoughts or actions.
- memory loss
- anxiety
- severe allergic reactions. Symptoms include swelling of the tongue or throat, trouble breathing, and nausea and vomiting. Get emergency medical help if you get these symptoms after taking LUNESTA.

Call your doctor right away if you have any of the above side effects or any other side effects that worry you while using LUNESTA.

The most common side effects of LUNESTA are:

- unpleasant taste in mouth, dry mouth
- drowsiness
- dizziness
- headache
- symptoms of the common cold
- You may still feel drowsy the next day after taking LUNESTA. Do not drive or do other dangerous activities after taking LUNESTA until you feel fully awake.

These are not all the side effects of LUNESTA. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I Store LUNESTA?

- Store LUNESTA at room temperature, between 59°F to 86°F (15°C to 30°C).
- Do not use LUNESTA after the expiration date.
- Keep LUNESTA and all medicines out of reach of children.

General Information about LUNESTA

- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide.
- Do not use LUNESTA for a condition for which it was not prescribed.
- Do not share LUNESTA with other people, even if you think they have the same symptoms that you have. It may harm them and is against the law.

This page summarizes the most important information about LUNESTA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about LUNESTA that is written for healthcare professionals.

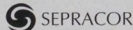
- For customer service, call 1-888-394-7377.
- To report side effects, call 1-877-737-7226.
- For medical information, call 1-800-739-0565.

What are the Ingredients in LUNESTA?

Active ingredient: eszopiclone.

Inactive ingredients: calcium phosphate, colloidal silicon dioxide, croscarmellose sodium, hypromellose, lactose, magnesium stearate, microcrystalline cellulose, polyethylene glycol, titanium dioxide, and triacetin.

Rx Only



Manufactured by:
Sepracor Inc.
Marlborough, MA 01752 USA

May 2008

Briefing

Drawing Room
PAGE 24



THE WORLD VERBATIM THE PAGE HISTORY

POP CHART MILESTONES



The Moment

10/28/08: Chicago

WE USUALLY TURN AWAY from scenes like the one in Englewood, a fabled slum on the South Side of Chicago. On 70th Street and South Yale Avenue, a grandmother lay dead by the front door of her house; her adult son had been killed moments before by a shot through the kitchen window; her 7-year-old grandson was missing, his bullet-riddled body later recovered in an abandoned car. The boy's stepfather, on parole after years in prison for attempted

murder and carjacking, has been taken in for questioning. "Because I chose to do what was natural to me and love someone," the child's mother, Julia Hudson, wrote on her MySpace page, "it cost me my beautiful family."

But the nation's eyes were on her loss not because it was especially horrific—in a spate of shootings this summer, Chicago had seen plenty of tragedy. It was because her story was attached to another that had enthralled America.

Her sister Jennifer is not just famous; she is an emblem of pop-cultural redemption, an *American Idol* favorite who was eliminated in the finals but went on to greater triumph with an Oscar-winning role in the movie *Dreamgirls*.

A triple murder leaves a city crushed by a celebrity's family tragedy

She had transcended her backstory and her roots as a reality star to become a real one.

The alternate realities of stardom and inner-city melodrama have coalesced into a nimbus of potential meaning for the rest of us. Poverty

plus celebrity plus race plus bad choices plus crime add up to ... What? Should we compare the media coverage of the Hudsons unfavorably with that of white victims like Jon Benét Ramsey and Chandra Levy? Must it take an Academy Award to make one family's trauma stand out against a drumbeat of urban crime?

The trouble with this story, like all senseless tragedies, is that it has no arc. We cannot realistically hope for some resulting parable of triumph over adversity. We can root for them. We can pray for them. But only Julia and Jennifer Hudson will know if redemption finally comes.

—BY HOWARD CHUA-EOAN

The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



A wounded man is carried to safety after a suicide blast in northern Somalia

1 | Somalia

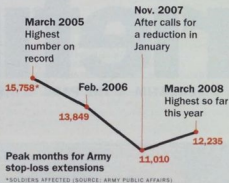
Disturbing the Peace

More than 20 people were killed Oct. 29 by a series of suicide bombings whose targets included a U.N. compound and the Ethiopian consulate, in the relatively stable northern Somali regions of Somaliland and Puntland. Government officials blamed the bombings on radical Islamic insurgents, who have vowed to continue fighting despite a U.N.-backed cease-fire agreed to earlier in the week by the Somali transitional government and the rival Islamic movement. The attacks coincided with a summit held in Nairobi by Somali and other African leaders to discuss the options for ending the chaos that has engulfed the nation since 1991.

2 | Mexico

Spies Hinder The War on Drugs

With the help of up to \$450,000 paid each month to government workers, the Beltrán-Leyva drug cartel infiltrated the Mexican attorney general's office and may have paid a spy inside the U.S. embassy to leak Drug Enforcement Administration secrets, Mexican authorities say. The case is the most serious known example of corruption since 1997, when the head of Mexico's antidrug agency was arrested and later convicted of aiding a drug lord. U.S. officials have not confirmed the embassy infiltration, and no staff changes are planned.



3 | Washington

Extended Tours Continue

Owing to wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. Army announced it will continue involuntary extensions of combat duty, also known as stop-loss, through 2009. Since 2002, more than 130,000 soldiers have been affected by this policy, which on average means spending an extra seven months in war zones.



A weakened Oscar Lizcano walks with help from Colombian officials

4 | Colombia

Free at Last

After eight years as a prisoner of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), former Colombian lawmaker Oscar Lizcano escaped from his captors, hiking for three days with his former FARC guard through the jungle before reaching an army post. His escape is the latest setback for the rebel group, weakened by defections and a daring operation earlier this year that rescued 15 hostages, including politician Ingrid Betancourt.

5 | Detroit

Carmakers Cry for Help

Amid talk of a merger with Chrysler, General Motors is lobbying federal officials for sizable financial assistance. In addition to the \$25 billion in government loans promised to the industry in an energy bill for production of fuel-efficient vehicles, GM's lending arm, GMAC, is exploring ways to access funds in the \$700 billion federal-bailout package, while the company reportedly is also seeking cash injections to cover potential merger costs. GM and Chrysler employ more than 200,000 U.S. workers and support many more jobs in the auto-parts and sales industries; GM's stock has fallen more than 80% since January. White House press secretary Dana Perino confirmed talks between federal officials and the struggling company but added that ailing U.S. carmakers "are dealing with some decisions that they've made in the past. And we are in a global environment, and they're competing globally."

Numbers:

250

Reported thefts of radioactive material in 2007, a "disturbingly high" figure, according to the U.N.

50%

Percentage of doctors in the U.S. who regularly prescribe placebos, according to a study by the National Institutes of Health



6 | Democratic Republic of Congo

REBEL ROUT Forces led by renegade general Laurent Nkunda advanced on the provincial capital of Goma in eastern Congo, sending tens of thousands (like those above) fleeing to makeshift camps, while angry protesters attacked retreating U.N. peacekeepers for failing to stop the rebel army. Nkunda has said his guerrillas are fighting to protect the country's ethnic Tutsi minority. Some 5.4 million people have died in Congo since 1998 in a civil war and from the ensuing humanitarian crisis.



7 | India

Dalai Lama Backs Down

After decades of fruitless talks with Beijing, the Dalai Lama said from his home in exile in Dharamsala that he has suspended his efforts to pursue Tibetan autonomy, leaving it up to his people to decide the best course of action regarding their homeland. Tibetan-exile representatives will meet to discuss a post-Dalai Lama strategy next month.

8 | Israel

Coalition Dies, Elections Live

Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni has asked President Shimon Peres to call for early elections, a move that could jeopardize her Kadima Party's hold on power. Livni, who had hoped to put together a coalition that would have made her the nation's first female Prime Minister since Golda Meir, decided to call for elections rather than concede to demands from conservatives that she roll back the peace process with the Palestinians.



TZIPI LIVNI
Some polls have shown the Foreign Minister with a slight lead over her opponents



EHUD BARAK
Labor Party head; agreed to join Livni's short-lived coalition attempt



BENJAMIN NETANYAHU
Leader of the right-wing Likud Party; Livni's main opposition

9 | Maldives

Out with The Old ...

On Oct. 28, Asia's longest-serving ruler, Maldivian President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, lost the country's first-ever democratic election, to Mohamed Nasheed, an activist who had been imprisoned by Gayoom a decade earlier. Though he is credited for the islands' tourism boom, Gayoom routinely persecuted critics and appointed relatives to official posts. As the only candidate on the ballot in previous elections, Gayoom ruled the nation of 360,000 for three decades.

10 | U.S.

Taking It to the People

Voters in many states may need to bring a study guide with them into the booth on Nov. 4. More than 100 ballot measures—down from over 200 in 2006—are up for consideration nationwide, largely the work of special interests including unions, animal-rights groups and pro-life activists. A sampling of the proposals awaiting voters on Election Day:

CALIFORNIA



Require humane confinement of farm animals



Require utilities to use more renewable fuel



Ban gay marriage (also in Arizona and Florida)

COLORADO



Eliminate affirmative-action hiring

HAWAII



Reduce age requirement for governor from 30 to 25

MASSACHUSETTS



Repeal state income tax

MICHIGAN



Allow people to grow marijuana for medical use

MISSOURI



Make English the state's official language

SOUTH DAKOTA



Ban most abortions, with a few narrow exceptions

★ | What They're Selling In Namibia:

On Oct. 28, Namibia's government held the first legal ivory auction since 1999, with more than seven tons of elephant tusks raising over \$1 million from buyers in China and Japan. The sale—sanctioned by an international-wildlife-trade agreement—will soon be followed by auctions in Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa, with the proceeds earmarked for elephant conservation efforts. Detractors say the auctions could rekindle black-market demand for ivory.



For daily sound bites, visit time.com/quotes

Verbatim

'We are also human beings, and sometimes we catch a cold.'

MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD, President of Iran, on rumors that he is seriously ill

'It's making use of an alternative energy that's God-given.'

STEPHEN SCOTT, senior fellow at Elizabethtown College, in Pennsylvania, on the decision by some Amish communities to begin using solar energy

'There were certainly war crimes committed, certainly not by us.'

MIKHEIL SAKASHVILI, Georgia's President, denying that his armed forces targeted civilians during their August attempt to reclaim the South Ossetia region

'The Americans are not interested in our bad guys.'

SENIOR PAKISTANI OFFICIAL, saying U.S. operations are targeting only militants involved in strikes on American troops in Afghanistan rather than those causing violent unrest in Pakistan

'When Candidate A says it's raining and Candidate B says it's sunny, a journalist should be able to look outside.'

CAMPBELL BROWN, CNN anchor, on accusations of bias in the network's coverage of the presidential campaign

'If you're not fearful, you're crazy.'

JAMIE DIMON, chief executive of JPMorgan Chase, on concerns about an impending credit-card crisis

'I'll go ahead and agree with you on that.'

SAMUEL WURZELBACHER, the Ohio resident known as Joe the Plumber, when asked at a rally for John McCain if a vote for Barack Obama is a vote for "the death of Israel"



Back & Forth:

Sports

'The weather, it kept changing.'

Major League Baseball commissioner **BUD SELIG**, on suspending Game 5 of the World Series between Tampa Bay and Philadelphia because of torrential rain



'Well, yes, sir. We call that Earth.'

PHIL SHERIDAN, columnist for the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, saying the game should have been played to its end despite the unfavorable conditions

Sex Offenders

'Since we have made it increasingly difficult for sexual predators to hurt Missouri children, it is no surprise that they did not like this law.'

Missouri Governor **MATT BLUNT**, after a federal judge blocked parts of a state bill requiring sex offenders to remain in their homes on Halloween night and avoid any contact with children related to the holiday



'Once people have completed their sentences, you can't go back and punish them for the same crime.'

ANTHONY E. ROTHERT, ACLU
attorney representing the four
convicted sex offenders who had
filed suit, saying the law violates
their constitutional rights

Media

'They are a mouthpiece for the Republican Party.'

Former NBA star and ex-Republican **CHARLES BARKLEY**, during a CNN interview, blasting Fox News for its "corrupt" coverage of national politics

'He obviously needs the steady paycheck to pay off his consistent gambling debts.'

FOX NEWS SPOKESMAN, referring to Barkley's notorious gambling habit and his contract as a sports analyst for TNT, which is owned by CNN's parent company

The Page

BY MARK HALPERIN



Read Mark Halperin every day at thepage.time.com

CAMPAIGN SCORECARD

ROUND	1	2	3	4
ISSUE	Infighting	Accuracy Rate	Momentum	Expectation-Setting
ACTION	<p>The unseemly spectacle of anonymous Palin allies' criticizing her handling by McCain staffers, followed by McCain aides slinging Palin as a "diva" and "whack job," was too alluring for the media to ignore. In comparison, Obama's arch remark that Joe Biden can be given to "rhetorical flourishes" looked positively friendly.</p> 	 <p>Another typical week in the message wars. Democrats methodically fired laser-guided missiles at McCain (that he's in lockstep with Bush and represents more of the same), while Republicans hurled every pot and pan within reach at the Teflon opposition (Obama is a socialist; Obama is a celebrity, etc.). The occasional GOP bull's-eye was overshadowed by many misses.</p> 	<p>The Obama campaign is enjoying the strongest close of a presidential election effort in recent memory: mammoth crowds—more than 100,000 at a rally in St. Louis, Mo.—massive spending and poll numbers above 50% in some national and state surveys. A political body in motion tends to stay in motion unless thwarted, and the Democrats kept rolling along.</p> 	 <p>Given their dire situation, Republicans have done an outstanding job sounding the alarm at the prospect of full Democratic control of Congress and the White House, while also remaining upbeat in public about their own chances on Election Day. But the Democrats have ably balanced a display of growing confidence with a stern warning to supporters about the dangers of complacency.</p>

RESULTS

REPUBLICANS				
DEMOCRATS	✓	✓	✓	
TIE				X

WINNER OF THE WEEK: DEMOCRATS

Republicans cursed the media and, increasingly, one another, without altering the race. Continued economic concern—and presumptuous speculation about an Obama presidency—made a GOP breakthrough seem even more remote.



★★★ NOT ALL ROUNDS ARE CREATED EQUAL ★★★

The week's winner is based on the relative importance of each fight and by how much the winner takes each round.

WEEK BY WEEK

	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	TOTAL WEEKS WON
REPUBLICANS		✓		✓		7
DEMOCRATS	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	12

TIME/CNN Poll. Obama still up in some Bush states

WHILE MCCAIN IS AHEAD in Georgia and Missouri, Obama is holding strong in some key red states.

COLORADO



TIME/CNN poll: OBAMA 53, MCCAIN 45
2004 election results: BUSH 52, KERRY 47

FLORIDA



TIME/CNN poll: OBAMA 51, MCCAIN 47
2004 election results: BUSH 52, KERRY 47

GEORGIA



TIME/CNN poll: MCCAIN 52, OBAMA 47
2004 election results: BUSH 58, KERRY 41

MISSOURI



TIME/CNN poll: MCCAIN 50, OBAMA 48
2004 election results: BUSH 53, KERRY 46

VIRGINIA



TIME/CNN poll: OBAMA 53, MCCAIN 44
2004 election results: BUSH 54, KERRY 45

All interviews were conducted via telephone by Opinion Research Corp. Oct. 23/24, 2008. Results are among likely voters, with all five polls having an error margin of 3.5 percentage points.

A Brief History Of:

Exit Polls



ON NOV. 4, IN A ROOM SOMEWHERE IN NEW YORK CITY, cut off from the outside world, a small group of media representatives will spend hours poring over polling data from around the country. No cell phones or Internet connections will be allowed, and the group will not emerge until 5 p.m. E.T. These people are part of the Election News Pool (ENP)—and they owe their monastic retreat to a long-running debate on how early election reports can affect the outcome of a race.

Networks began exit polling—surveying people leaving voting locations about the ballots they cast—in the 1960s, and it soon became a common tool to predict winners before votes were tallied. But after NBC reported Ronald Reagan's 1980 victory over Jimmy Carter hours before polls closed on the West Coast, Congress held hearings on whether the practice depressed voter turnout, and networks vowed not to project a state's winners until polls close. (Exit polling is protected by the First Amendment.)

In the 1990s, the major news networks and the Associated Press formed a polling consortium to cut costs, but this proved disastrous in 2000, when it declared the race for Al Gore around 8 p.m., switched to George W. Bush by 2 a.m. and left the race at "too close to call" by 4 a.m. An embarrassing computer glitch in 2002 prompted a switch to the ENP, which surveys early voters by phone, uses confidential questionnaires in the field and employs a diverse group of pollsters to ensure an accurate count. A leak of ENP data in 2004, however, prompted the creation of the current quarantine system, in use since '06.

Quarantine or no, news outlets still remember Florida in 2000; if swing-state races appear tight when the last polls close, odds are the media will be eager about releasing early results—no matter how good the data look. —BY KATE PICKERT

Tally no In the old days, networks used exit polls to beat rivals to the punch. Now they're all in it together

POLITICAL PROGNOSTICATION

1967 Poll pioneer Warren Mitofsky conducts first major exit poll for a network, CBS



1980 NBC uses exit-poll data to report a

Reagan victory nearly three hours before the polls close in California

1990 Networks create consortium to conduct exit polls. AP joins in 1993, forming Voter News Service

2000 VNS calls election for Gore, then Bush, then neither

2002 VNS computers break down on Election Day. VNS is disbanded in 2003

2004 New polling consortium's data leaked online; bloggers report a Kerry lead. Oops



THE SKIMMER



Payback: Debt and the Shadow Side of Wealth

By Margaret Atwood
Anansi, 230 pages

IN THE TEETH OF A GLOBAL recession, there are a lot of people thinking and writing about debt. But few of them are Booker Prize-winning novelists, and that's what makes *Payback*—equal parts philosophical essay, literary criticism and historical narrative—a compelling project from the start. The author of *The Handmaid's Tale* and *The Blind Assassin* examines the science of give-and-take, from evolution (studies of chimpanzees' innate concept of fair play) to religion (themes of redemption in Christian theology) to literature—where Atwood realizes that debt drives many a plot (*Vanity Fair*, *A Christmas Carol*). And what happens when, she asks, "people don't pay their debts? Or can't pay their debts? Or won't pay their debts?" In the answers lie all the woes of humankind: crime, slavery, war, poverty, revenge, environmental destruction. Atwood admits she's no expert on the subject, but the delight of *Payback* is in watching a gifted storyteller discover—with impeccable timing—one of her most universal narratives yet.

—BY ANDRÉA FORD

READ
SKIM
TOSS

Pop Chart



JESSICA SIMPSON'S
Major Movie Star
No. 1 at Russian
box office. Moscow
threatens to respond
with bomb of its own



**MICHAEL PHELPS,
A-ROD, KOBE, TONY
HAWK** star in pantless
Guitar Hero ad



**CATHERINE ZETA-
JONES** to appear as
Cleopatra in Steven
Soderbergh's 3-D rock
musical, featuring
the hit single



NBC enlists **B.B. KING,
FLAMING LIPS, B-52S**
to record chime
theme. Dumb, dumb,
dumb



CABBAGE PATCH
candidates!



AMY POEHLER gives
birth. *Saturday Night Live*
cancels rest of season



ANNE HATHAWAY'S ex
gets 4½ years, eternal
damnation for papal-
embezzlement scheme



Internet poll calls
HARRISON FORD
best movie President.
Somewhere, Ronald
Reagan is wondering
why he was disqualified

SHOCKING

Introducing Sasha
Fierce, **BEYONCÉ'S** bid to
further distance herself
from Destiny's Child by
becoming completely
different person



**ZAC
EFRON'S**
fast-tracked
Footloose remake



*High School
Musical 3's*
\$42 million
box office



**JONAS
BROTHERS'**
film debut
in *Walter the
Farting Dog*



*Beverly Hills
Chihuahua*

KIRK VS. SULU: Fight!



PREDICTABLE



Gus Van Sant to direct
film of **THE ELECTRIC
KOOL-AID ACID TEST.**
Worst product tie-in
ever



DR PEPPER sticking
by promise to give
free soda to everyone
in America if **AXL
ROSE** releases *Chinese
Democracy* before 2009



FALL OUT BOY attempts
to break world record for
most interviews ignored
by listeners in
24-hour period



THOM YORKE, BJÖRK
record single together,
featuring 19 minutes
of computer beats,
Icelandic screeching



Sex scheduled around gym sessions? **GUY RITCHIE-
MADONNA** divorce dirt arriving right on schedule

SHOCKINGLY PREDICTABLE

Drawing Room

EDITED BY MATTHEW DIFFEE



"Now, that was an attack ad!"



Kanin

THE NEW PRESIDENT'S TO-DO LIST

- ☐ Fix Economy
- ☐ Fix Iraq
- ☐ Fix Health Care
- ☐ Fix Gas Prices
- ☐ LEAP OVER BUILDING WITH SINGLE BOUND

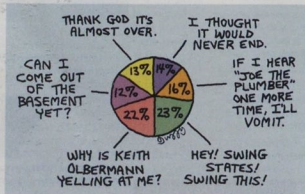


J.C. Duffy

"Here. This should get us through the next few days."



Kanin



"I couldn't decide between wearing a shirt or just two pairs of pants, but I'm ready to vote."

Milestones



Robert Furman

ON DEC. 5, 2007, THE INDEFATIGABLE Army engineer Robert Furman, who died Oct. 14 at 93, drove more than four hours through a winter storm to dedicate the offices where he had worked 64 years earlier as a key aide to the head of the

top-secret Manhattan Project.

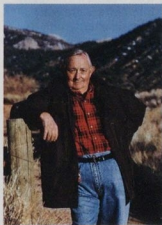
Born on Aug. 21, 1915, Furman studied engineering at Princeton; he remembered seeing Albert Einstein walk across campus. After graduating in 1937, Furman was called up by the Army Reserve in December 1940. Assigned

to the quartermaster corps construction division, he supervised day-to-day operations in the building of the Pentagon (left).

In 1943, Furman was appointed to head the first atomic-intelligence effort and was soon able to report that the Germans had not gotten very far in building a bomb. Two years later, he accompanied Little Boy's uranium core from Los Alamos, N.M., to Tinian Island and watched the *Enola Gay* take off on Aug. 6, 1945, with its historic payload.

To Furman, the "biggest miracle" of the past 63 years was that no other atom bombs had been used. His fervent hope was for that to remain so. My last memory of Robert, a barbershop-quartet member, was of him standing in the snow on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, singing peacefully. —BY CYNTHIA KELLY

Kelly is president of the Atomic Heritage Foundation



Tony Hillerman

HIS NUMEROUS BEST-SELLING mystery novels about two Navajo policemen, Joe Leaphorn and Jim Chee, portrayed the American Indians of the Southwest with accuracy, color and affection. Hillerman, who died

Oct. 26 at 83, was the first popular author to consistently write about the Navajo as fully rounded characters. Over 18 novels, starting with 1970's *The Blessing Way*, he portrayed the Navajo with good traits and bad, as heroic and villainous, just as novelists had written about people of other races and cultures. He understood that Navajo are not the primitives depicted in old western movies, and he wanted his readers to recognize that they were as complex and sophisticated as the people of any other heritage.

Tony Hillerman won the Edgar Allan Poe Award from the Mystery Writers of America for the Best Novel of the year (*Dance Hall of*

the Dead) in 1974, and in 1991 he received the highest award the organization can bestow: the title Grand Master for lifetime achievement. Yet the honor that brought him greatest pleasure was given to him by the Navajo Tribal Council when they named him a Special Friend of the Dineh (Navajo).

After more than three decades of critical acclaim and many visits to the best-seller list, Hillerman had a favorite anecdote, often repeated. It was about his first agent, who told him that if he wanted to have success as a writer, he'd have to get rid of "all that Indian stuff."

—BY OTTO PENZLER

Penzler is proprietor of the Mysterious Bookshop in New York City



DIED In her job as a reporter for KATV in Little Rock, Ark., **Anne Pressly** traveled throughout the state interviewing the likes of former Governor turned



presidential candidate Mike Huckabee, poet Maya Angelou and, by chance encounter, Vice President

Dick Cheney, who was in Arkansas shopping at a hunting-equipment store. Most recently, she landed a small role as a conservative commentator in Oliver Stone's George W. Bush biopic. Pressly was found severely beaten in her home on Oct. 20, and she succumbed to her injuries several days later. A fund created in her name to apprehend the killer has so far raised about \$37,000. Pressly was 26.

■ **Gerard Damiano**, who went by the name Jerry Gerard, effectively launched the 1970s porn-movie craze with his first feature, *Deep Throat*, in which the leading lady



had a special talent all her own. Despite producer worries that the term was too obscene, Damiano

replied, "Deep Throat will become a household word." With a budget of about \$25,000 (provided by the son of a mobster) and a six-day shooting schedule, the film went on to earn tens of millions of dollars and a notorious spot in film history. He was 80.

■ Born in North Carolina during the Jim Crow era, **Alex Rivera** reported on and photographed civil rights stories about the last lynchings in South Carolina and Georgia as well as school desegregation in the South. Working for newspapers like the *Washington Tribune* and the *Pittsburgh Courier*, Rivera also photographed African Americans such as opera singer Marian Anderson and tennis legend Arthur Ashe. He later spent more than 15 years as the publicist for North Carolina Central University. Rivera was 95.



Joel

Stein

The Urkel Effect. Barack Obama may conquer racial prejudice, but can he beat back America's nerdophobia?

I AM NOT AT ALL CONCERNED ABOUT THE Bradley effect—the theory that secretly racist white people tell pollsters they'll vote for a black candidate like Barack Obama but will actually pull the lever for a white one like John McCain. The truth is that secretly racist white people happily vote for black candidates, listen to black musicians and laugh at black comedians to make themselves feel better about not having black friends. In fact, I once even tried to get all the way through *Barbershop*.

I am, however, deeply worried about the Urkel effect, which holds that voters leaning toward Obama will walk into the voting booth and suddenly think, I cannot take four years of listening to that giant-eared nerd. Because people are starting to realize that Obama is not all that cool. He's earnest like C-3PO, emotionless like Spock, overly practical like Encyclopedia Brown and incredibly skinny like C-3PO, Spock and Encyclopedia Brown.

Obama seemed cool at first because he uses slang, dresses well and bumps fists. But a lifetime of dangerous undercover work makes it easy for me to spot a fellow nerd. Obama has done a good job passing, with his nice suits, easy smile and attractive wife. But those are just the over-30 nerd trappings of success. Have you seen him try to dance? It's like watching a white guy make fun of other white guys. Sure, he played high school basketball, but how many cool kids play indoor sports in Hawaii?

The Urkel effect holds that voters leaning toward Obama will suddenly think, I cannot take four years of listening to that giant-eared nerd

The man is all superego. He never gets angry or flirts with hot chicks by asking them to be his Vice President. Obama has written about using pot and cocaine, but a New York *Times* article found only school buddies who said he merely dabbled with marijuana. That's because the only people who bring up their drug use didn't really do drugs. Try asking George W. Bush about



alleged cocaine use. You'll see how the nonnerds play it.

The Urkel effect has damaged most of the last generation of Democratic presidential candidates, so I figured I'd have its horrors explained by Michael Dukakis. "The guy I was running against was chewing on pork rinds during the campaign," said Dukakis. "I don't think George H.W. Bush had had a pork rind in his life. They did that number on me, and I did a much less effective job than Obama did. I was kind of the bloodless technocrat, right? If I had a nickel for every guy who said, 'You're nothing like the guy on television,' I'd be a millionaire." Then Dukakis spent 15 minutes telling me about the importance of precinct-by-precinct cam-

paigning, thereby saving me a nickel.

Former *TIME* reporter Benjamin Nugent, author of *American Nerd: The Story of My People*, is also worried about the Urkel effect, though he thinks Obama is less nerd than nerd-adjacent. These are the types of terms you have to endure when talking to the author of *American Nerd: The Story of My People*. "He would be the guy the jocks didn't choose to towel-snap, but he would kind of stand there looking disapproving while they towel-snapped. Whereas McCain would be more likely to towel-snap you, and Sarah Palin would make out with the guy who towel-snapped you," he says.

To find out how Obama can save himself before it's too late, I consulted the reigning geek of our time, John Hodgman, who plays PC in the Apple ads and wrote a new book called *More Information Than You Require*. Hodgman thinks that while the Urkel effect hurt Al Gore and John Kerry, America's lack of desire to drink even a malty Belgian beer with Obama will actually help him. "After eight years of jocklike bluster, Obama's technician's calm seems extra-attractive," says Hodgman, who believes that jocks vs. geeks has replaced red vs. blue as the reigning cultural conflict of

the day. But jockdom, he says, is on the wane. "The world is now driven by knowledge economies. China and India and Dubai do not make Big Bang-theory sitcoms marginalizing their geeks and engineers—unless they actually do, in which case, awesome!"

Maybe Hodgman is right. Maybe Obama won't fall victim to the Urkel effect. Maybe, just as Seth Rogen has replaced Harrison Ford as a romantic-movie lead, our comic-book-loving, viral-video-sharing culture is replacing the blow-dried Mitt Romneys with the Jew-froed Al Franken. Of course, it's also possible that while our society is ready to accept a black President, it still clings to a treasured stereotype: that all black people are cool and all nerds are white. ■

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Talk with your doctor first. Make sure your heart is healthy enough to have sex. If you have chest pain, nausea, or other discomforts during sex, seek medical help right away. As with any ED tablet, in the rare event of an erection lasting more than four hours, seek immediate medical help to avoid long-term injury.

In rare instances, men taking PDE5 inhibitors (oral erectile dysfunction medicines, including VIAGRA) reported a sudden decrease or loss of vision, or sudden decrease or loss of hearing. It is not possible to determine whether these events are related directly to these medicines or to other factors. If you experience any of these symptoms, stop taking PDE5 inhibitors, including VIAGRA, and call a doctor right away.

The most common side effects of VIAGRA are headache, facial flushing, and upset stomach. Less common are bluish or blurred vision, or being sensitive to light. These may occur for a brief time.

Take VIAGRA about 1 hour before you want to have sex. VIAGRA works for 4 hours. VIAGRA only works with stimulation. VIAGRA does not protect against sexually transmitted diseases including HIV. Please see Important Facts for VIAGRA on the following page or visit viagra.com for full prescribing information. **For free information, including questions to ask your doctor, call 1-888-4VIAGRA (1-888-484-2472).**

*Data taken from a study of 228 men with ED who previously had success with VIAGRA. Of the 115 men who took VIAGRA 100mg, 35% had erections hard enough for successful intercourse at 14 minutes, and 51% of men at 20 minutes.

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IMPORTANT FACTS

VIAGRA
(sildenafil citrate) tablets

(vi-AG-rah)

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION ABOUT VIAGRA

Never take VIAGRA if you take any medicines with nitrates. This includes nitroglycerin. Your blood pressure could drop quickly. It could fall to an unsafe or life-threatening level.

ABOUT ERECTILE DYSFUNCTION (ED)

Erectile dysfunction means a man cannot get or keep an erection. Health problems, injury, or side effects of drugs may cause ED. The cause may not be known.

ABOUT VIAGRA

VIAGRA is used to treat ED in men. When you want to have sex, VIAGRA can help you get and keep an erection when you are sexually excited. You cannot get an erection just by taking the pill. Only your doctor can prescribe VIAGRA.

VIAGRA does not cure ED.

VIAGRA does not protect you or your partner from STDs (sexually transmitted diseases) or HIV. You will need to use a condom.

VIAGRA is not a hormone or an aphrodisiac.

WHO IS VIAGRA FOR?

Who should take VIAGRA?

Men who have ED and whose heart is healthy enough for sex.

Who should NOT take VIAGRA?

- If you ever take medicines with nitrates:
 - Medicines that treat chest pain (angina), such as nitroglycerin or isosorbide mononitrate or dinitrate
- If you use some street drugs, such as "poppers" (amyl nitrate or nitrite)
- If you are allergic to anything in the VIAGRA tablet.

BEFORE YOU START VIAGRA

Tell your doctor if you have or ever had:

- Heart attack, abnormal heartbeats, or stroke
- Heart problems, such as heart failure, chest pain, or aortic valve narrowing
- Low or high blood pressure
- Severe vision loss
- An eye condition called retinitis pigmentosa
- Kidney or liver problems
- Blood problems, such as sickle cell anemia or leukemia
- A deformed penis, Peyronie's disease, or an erection that lasted more than 4 hours
- Stomach ulcers or any kind of bleeding problems

Tell your doctor about all your medicines. Include over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal products. Tell your doctor if you take or use:

- Medicines called alpha-blockers to treat high blood pressure or prostate problems. Your blood pressure could suddenly get too low. You could get dizzy or faint. Your doctor may start you on a lower dose of VIAGRA.
- Medicines called protease inhibitors for HIV. Your doctor may prescribe a 25 mg dose. Your doctor may limit VIAGRA to 25 mg in a 48-hour period.
- Other methods to cause erections. These include pills, injections, implants, or pumps.

POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF VIAGRA

Side effects are mostly mild to moderate. They usually go away after a few hours. Some of these are more likely to happen with higher doses.

The most common side effects are:

- Headache
- Feeling flushed
- Upset stomach

Less common side effects are:

- Trouble telling blue and green apart or seeing a blue tinge on things
- Eyes being more sensitive to light
- Blurred vision

Rarely, a small number of men taking VIAGRA have reported these serious events:

- Having an erection that lasts more than 4 hours. If the erection is not treated right away, long-term loss of potency could occur.
- Sudden decrease or loss of sight in one or both eyes. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. They may be caused by conditions like high blood pressure or diabetes. If you have sudden vision changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Sudden decrease or loss of hearing. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. If you have sudden hearing changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Heart attack, stroke, irregular heartbeats, and death. We do not know whether these events are caused by VIAGRA or caused by other factors. Most of these happened in men who already had heart problems.

If you have any of these problems, stop VIAGRA. Call your doctor right away.

HOW TO TAKE VIAGRA

Do:

- Take VIAGRA only the way your doctor tells you. VIAGRA comes in 25 mg, 50 mg, and 100 mg tablets. Your doctor will tell you how much to take.
- If you are over 65 or have serious liver or kidney problems, your doctor may start you at the lowest dose (25 mg).
- Take VIAGRA about 1 hour before you want to have sex. VIAGRA starts to work in about 30 minutes when you are sexually excited. VIAGRA lasts up to 4 hours.

Don't:

- Do not take VIAGRA more than once a day.
- Do not take more VIAGRA than your doctor tells you. If you think you need more VIAGRA, talk with your doctor.
- Do not start or stop any other medicines before checking with your doctor.

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Joe

Klein

If Obama Wins. His challenge from the start will be getting two big issues—one foreign, one domestic—right

IN THE DAYS BEFORE THE GREAT ELECTION of 2008, your nation's capital was consumed by a single question: If Barack Obama wins, what's in it for me? A week before the balloting, I sat in the dining room of one of Washington's finest hotels and, eavesdropping madly, realized that my neighbors at every one of the adjoining tables were consumed by the vagaries of appointive politics—as I was, after my guest arrived. The game of turbocharged, Cabinet-level musical chairs is the autumnal version of the summer speculation about vice-presidential picks: lots of fun, but not very nourishing, and I'm not going to indulge in it here (O.K., maybe a little). There are bigger fish to fry, like what's the new President—Obama is universally, *prematurely*, assumed the victor—actually going to do?

It was possible, in this rotisserie of naked self-promotion, to discern some larger themes. For the first time since Franklin Roosevelt, the next President will face the prospect of neither peace nor prosperity—and there seems a consensus that, as much as Obama (or John McCain, for that matter) wants to play in the world, the financial crisis will demand most of his time and political capital. From that assumption flows another: For the sake of continuity and the absence of drama, it might not be a bad idea for Obama—if elected—to stick with the current national-security players in the battle against Islamic extremism.

When I interviewed him on Oct. 18, Obama said he was "happy" that General David Petraeus was at Central Command, supervising the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Last June, Obama told me that he

would want "people like" Secretary of Defense Robert Gates in his Cabinet. Petraeus is studying the options in Afghanistan, with the goal of producing a detailed action plan for the next President by the end of December. It is likely the general will recommend the resumption of troop withdrawals from Iraq on something resembling the Obama timetable. Indeed, Iraq has slipped down the list of national-security priorities as it has stabi-



lized (in a recent week, the U.S. military casualties there were... four wounded). It is also likely that at least two brigades scheduled to deploy to Iraq in 2009 will be sent to Afghanistan instead. Already, Obama has indicated that he approves the general direction in which Petraeus is heading. Unlike President Bush, Obama strongly supports nation-building in both Afghanistan and Pakistan; and, like Petraeus, he favors negotiations with some of the pro-Taliban tribes (at least those who are not al-Qaeda). Unlike McCain, Obama will not be reluctant to continue the current cross-border strikes, via Predator drone, against selected terrorist targets in Pakistan.

Pakistan will have to be handled carefully. A senior U.S. official told me that the intelligence community now considers Pakistan the "central front" in the war on terrorism. "Al-Qaeda wants to go after the Pakistani leadership," the official said. With foreign fighters coagulating

in Pakistan's border regions, forging a renewed U.S.-Pakistani alliance against al-Qaeda will be a top priority.

But it won't be the top priority. As Obama told me in our interview, a government-propelled transition to an alternative-energy economy will be his most important initiative. Translated into Washington terms, this means a massive infrastructure and stimulus package—in the neighborhood of \$300 billion, according to the current speculation. There is a back-to-the-future quality to this: it's what used to be derided as big-spending liberalism. The Beltway consensus is that the economic crisis makes it necessary now. But public cynicism about government requires that the next President builds accountability into his spending programs. That's why the Infrastructure Bank that Obama proposed during the campaign may be crucial: it would create a bipartisan board of five governors who would judge and approve all major projects.

In normal times, getting an Infrastructure Bank through Congress would be impossible. "It is a direct threat to their way of life," says Norman Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute. "It changes the dynamic of how you deal with earmarks," by taking the decision-making, and to some extent the credit, away from politicians. "I know one huge ally Obama would have on this," Ornstein adds with a laugh. "John McCain."

This could be an early test for President Obama (it would be an impossible task for President McCain, given the Democratic enmity should he win). Will Obama be able to convince his party's leaders that the economic situation is so dire, and the public's opinion of Congress so low, that big new public-works projects will need the validation of an independent board? Will he be willing to spend his political capital on this relatively obscure notion? When Bill Clinton arrived in Washington, he found that his toughest challenge was herding the donkeys in his own party. The nation's capital awaits the new President, wondering not just who gets what, but also how tough—and skilled—the new guy will really be. ■

It might be a good idea to stick with the current national-security players in the battle against Islamic extremism

How They Would Lead

No matter who wins, the 44th U.S. President will inherit a nation in a world of hurt. A look at how each man would face an epic challenge

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

THEY ONLY LOOK AS IF THEY INHABIT OUR GALAXY. In truth, the men who would be President have been running for months in a parallel universe, a place where a Chief Executive changes laws by waving a hand and reorders society at the stroke of a pen. "When I am President," the candidates declare—and off they go into dreamspeak, describing tax codes down to the last decimal point and sketching health-care reforms far beyond the power of any single person to enact. In their imaginary, reassuring cosmos, America is always a mere 10 years—and one new President—away from energy independence. And the ills of the federal budget can be cured simply by having an eagle-eyed leader go through it line by line.

Then one of them wins the election.

In an instant, the winner is sucked through a wormhole back into the real world. A world in which Congress, not the President, writes all the laws and gets the last word on the budget. Where consumers decide which cars to drive and how many lights to burn. And where the clash of powerful interest groups makes it easier to do nothing about big problems than to tackle them. Even the strongest, williest, most effective Presidents must change shape and shift direction to accommodate these and other forces.

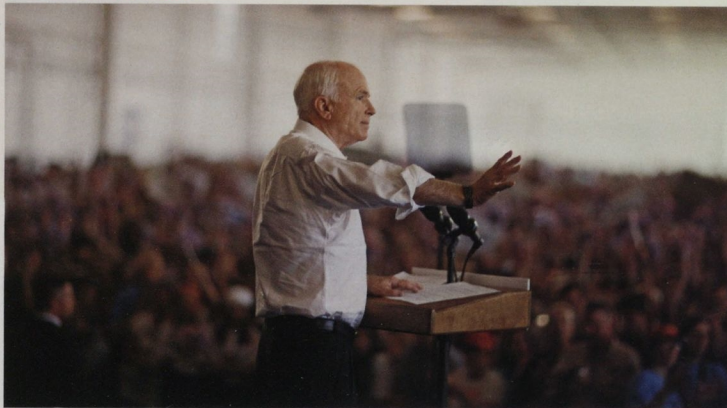
An ability to alter course without losing one's way is essential to presidential success. "I claim not to have controlled events," Abraham Lincoln wrote, "but confess plainly that events have controlled me." As the sailor President Franklin D. Roosevelt understood, only rarely does a fair wind blow squarely at the

Taking Office

The extraordinary powers of the presidency await either Barack Obama or John McCain. So do a grim national mood and a challenging global order







No. 44

The candidates' governing styles would follow their personality quirks: for McCain, an inner tug-of-war between pragmatism and idealism; for Obama, a calm independence that's never surprised by success

President's back. More typical is the gale blowing from dead ahead or the deceptively strong crosswind. Sometimes the best that one can do is inch forward at an angle while struggling to avoid running aground.

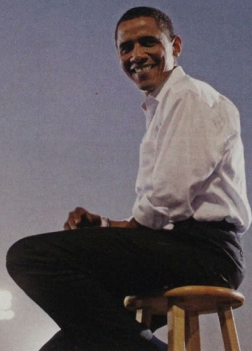
The next President, whether it's Barack Obama or John McCain, will take the helm amid a maelstrom. Testifying before Congress, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Alan Greenspan—not known for his colorful public statements—professed “shocked disbelief” at the “tsunami” that has plunged global finance into disarray. He predicted a deep recession that will cost jobs and devastate balance sheets across the economy—“much broader than anything I could have imagined.” When the chief economic advisers to McCain and Obama met recently for a debate, they found little to agree on. But they shared the realization that the new President's options will be severely constrained by an economy in turmoil. Douglas Holtz-Eakin conceded that McCain's promise to balance the budget in four years is off the table. “The events of the past few months have completely thrown a wrench into that—there's no way round it,” he said. Austin Goolsbee, who counsels Obama, spoke grimly of “the hole we've dug” as a nation.

It's impossible to say exactly how deep that hole will turn out to be—which makes it hard to say exactly how much of the next President's energy will have to go toward pulling us out of it. And the economy is far from the only unpredictable force the 44th President will contend with. Experts are forecasting a surge in the number of Democrats in Congress that would give Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi and Senate majority leader Harry Reid the largest majorities either party has had since the early 1990s. This would obviously limit the options of a Republican President McCain. But Congress would be a complicating factor in the life of President Obama too. After all, the Constitution envisions a strong Congress, and that's just the way committee chairmen like it. After more than a dozen years of being stymied, first by Newt Gingrich and then by George W. Bush, congressional Democrats are bursting with pent-up ambitions and long-deferred dreams. Some are epic undertakings that would affect every American for decades—like the proposal to impose a cap on carbon dioxide emissions and put a price on permits to burn fossil fuels. Or the goal of completely reorganizing the way the U.S. manages health care. Other,

While there's a place in Washington for fat transition books, the more important text for Obama could fit on a note card: Clear priorities

smaller projects involve large amounts of controversy—like a bill that would allow federal funds to pay for abortions. And expansion of embryonic-stem-cell research. And a “path to citizenship” for millions of immigrants who are living illegally in the U.S.

Well-funded liberal interest groups will compete to rush their pet causes to the top of this agenda, while conservative groups will use these issues to rebuild their battered bases. Both presidential candidates have promised to lance the boil of partisan demagoguery in Washington, but for many of these interest groups, comity is bad for business. The fracturing of



Extra Shots

To see more campaign photos from Christopher Morris and Callie Shell, go to time.com/mccain_morris and time.com/obama_shell

the media into a thousand voices—many of them strident—will further complicate the new President's efforts to deliver on the promise of a more civil way of doing the nation's business.

Don't forget the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan or the rise of China, the bluster of boom-and-bust Russia, the murky threat of Iran and the accelerating decay of Pakistan. Between the economic crisis at home and the geopolitical cauldron abroad, the new President's agenda will be largely predetermined. He might wish he could shrug off this dismal inheritance and devote himself to the shiny projects cataloged on his campaign website—but that's beyond his power.

Finally, there is the strongest, and perhaps the least predictable, force of all: public opinion. As the current President proved, a Chief Executive with two-thirds of the public behind him can steamroll almost any rival influence. In a single year when Bush's approval rating floated as high as the low 70s, he launched a war, reorganized the Federal Government and passed a vast expansion of Medicare. Forty percentage points later, he's the lamest duck since Harry S. Truman. The public today is anxious, skeptical and dissatis-

fied. Record numbers say the country is on the wrong track. In this climate, the new President's honeymoon may be as fragile as a 3 a.m. Las Vegas wedding.

This is the real world the next President is about to enter. How he might respond to the winds of reality—and what tools he'll have available to weather the storm—differs greatly from one man to the other.

President Obama

"WHO IS THE REAL BARACK OBAMA?" McCain sometimes asks on the stump. If the election follows the polls of October and the U.S. awakens on Nov. 5 to an Obama presidency, he'll begin answering that question in the only way that counts: by his actions. Is he the pragmatic champion of the middle class whose calm and moderate tone carried him undefeated through three debates? Or is he the stealth leftist zestfully skewered by Sarah Palin at event after event?

There was a similar unveiling in 1992. Like Obama, Bill Clinton campaigned for the White House on a platform of middle-class tax cuts and a free-market-friendly approach to public policy. The government doesn't "spend" tax money in the New Dem-

ocrats' lexicon. It "invests" in the future. And like Obama, Clinton saw another version of himself painted by the opposition: a pot-smoking, war-protesting, bureaucrat-loving, income-redistributing radical.

When the voters called for the "real" Clinton to take office, he stumbled. His transition team was disorganized. He abandoned his tax cuts and worried about the bond market instead. He pitched into a needless controversy over gays in the military. His crime-fighting proposals were drowned out by his difficulty in finding an Attorney General who had paid all her taxes. He antagonized the White House press corps and seemed unsure in his dealings with the Democrats who ran Congress. He took his eye off the ball overseas and let a police action in Somalia turn into a national embarrassment. The Republicans saw all this, hauled themselves up from the canvas and, led by Gingrich, pounded Clinton and the Democrats in 1994. Eventually, Clinton delivered on much that he promised: he put 100,000 cops on the street, the budget was balanced, "welfare as we know it" was ended, and the economy boomed. But his weak start left him damaged in ways that shaped his entire presidency.

Obama is eager to avoid those mistakes. Within weeks of capturing the nomination, he started planning for the possibility that he would govern. He set up a transition team last summer, led by former Clinton chief of staff John Podesta, one of the best-connected—and least self-aggrandizing—Democrats in Washington. Podesta's team is compiling a book of perhaps 50 chapters to use as a blueprint for a new Administration. All this activity opened Obama to criticism from McCain that he was prematurely "measuring the drapes" of the Oval Office. Instead of drapes, though, the Illinois Senator seemed to be thinking of Cervantes, who declared, "To be prepared is half the victory." Indeed, one of Obama's striking qualities is that success never takes him

been talking about reducing U.S. dependence on fossil fuels for decades. McCain's embrace of alternative energy has given the issue a bipartisan flavor. And Obama believes that the quest for new engines and fuels for the future will serve as a "new driver" for robust economic growth. (It has happened before—just ask Thomas Edison and Henry Ford.) But momentum alone won't make it happen. Beneath the surface consensus lies enormous controversy. The cap-and-trade system of charging factories and utilities for permits to burn fossil fuels would be a major intervention in the economy, and opponents will argue that it's too great a shock to apply to an already ailing patient.

On the other hand, in a period of ballooning deficits, an energy bill has the advantage of seeming to pay for itself. The sale of carbon-emission permits would raise billions of dollars, money Congress could then disperse in the form of grants for alternative-energy research, tax credits for greening homes and businesses, and loans to retrofit inefficient industries—starting with Detroit's struggling automakers. Republicans doomed a Clinton-era attempt to do something similar by christening the plan a "carbon tax." For Obama to succeed, he would have to convince the public that this tax is truly an "investment."

Meanwhile, the ailing Atlas of congressional Democrats, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, has a different priority in mind for an Obama Administration. Even as he battles brain cancer, Kennedy has been trying to lay the groundwork for a breakthrough on universal health insurance. In his rousing, up-from-the-sickbed convention speech, Kennedy called health-care reform "the cause of my life," and many congressional Democrats share that zeal. Obama will have to decide whether, in the midst of a recession, Washington can take on two reforms of such historic proportions simultaneously. If, as the early betting predicts, he says no, Obama risks disappointing the liberal base—including Hillary Clinton supporters who were late joining his bandwagon and remain perilously close to the exits.

That said, Obama may have less to fear from congressional leaders pushing rival agendas than did his bedeviled predecessors Carter and Clinton. Those earlier Democrats faced Congresses dominated by complacent chairmen who had never known a GOP majority. Today's Democratic leaders know what it's like to lose the perks—and opportunities—of power. Having reoccupied the plush offices of the Capitol, they might appreciate the idea that being in the same party sometimes means staying on the same page.

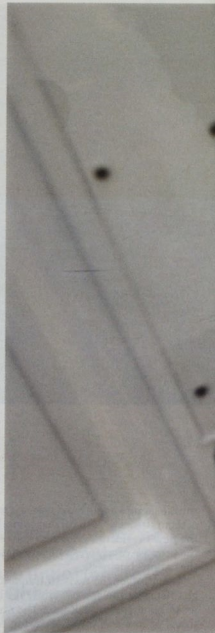
McCain's desire to leave a mark on history by signing an energy or a health-care bill would clash with his gut-level identification with the GOP

by surprise. He's like a golfer who makes a hole in one and tells his stunned partners, "That's where I was aiming."

But while there is a place in Washington for 50-chapter briefing books, the more important text for Obama could fit on a note card: Clear priorities. Everyone in the capital has a plan for a new President. Unless he sets his own agenda, others will eagerly set it for him. Obama has a lot to choose from. Recently, the National Taxpayers Union Foundation, no fan of his, compiled a catalog of promises and programs Obama has made during the campaign. Including documentary quotations, the list ran 85 pages.

Obama recently told TIME's Joe Klein that Job One is the unknowable task of patching and stabilizing the sinking economy, which makes sense because the power of this issue to shape the next presidency is absolute. The financial crisis has already changed Reagan Republicans into bank nationalizers almost overnight. Presidential-transition expert Paul Light calls this the most harrowing environment for a change of Administration since Lincoln took charge of a country split in two.

After that, his priority, Obama said, is passing an energy bill. Presidents have



An Alternate Reality?

Running for President often involves making big promises. Being President often means stepping back from them

Then there is the question of taxes. Obama has made overhauling the tax code a centerpiece of his campaign. In the real world of Washington, his plan is a mixture of commonplace steps (tweaking income tax rates) and unprecedented measures (a new approach to payroll taxes). The likelihood that he will get anything like the tax package he has outlined—or even that he'll seek all the changes he has promised—is remote as long as the economy is struggling. After all, what's the point of raising corporate taxes when companies



aren't profitable or raising capital-gains taxes when stock prices and real estate values are plummeting? Even a gung-ho tax raiser like Representative Barney Frank of Massachusetts acknowledges that the economic climate is wrong. "Not now," Frank said recently of tax hikes.

What shape would Obama take on the world stage? It's folly to predict. Events are moving too quickly. When Obama launched his campaign last year, the biggest issue in the world was Iraq. Now the public's interest—and U.S. involve-

ment there—is dwindling almost by the day. Obama's bumper-sticker plan for Afghanistan—more troops to catch bin Laden—is being swallowed up in a befuddling tangle of intractable issues, ranging from the Afghan heroin trade to the instability of Kashmir. Foreign policy breeds surprises in American Presidents: Nixon went to China; Reagan proposed nuclear disarmament; Bush changed from "humble" to imperial in a single morning. Compounding the unpredictability is the excitement Obama's candidacy has stirred

in parts of the world. Will the novelty of a multiracial President with a Kenyan name have tangible diplomatic benefits? A scientist would say there are no data.

However, when it comes to the numbers Washington understands best—votes and money—Obama may be stronger, politically, than any other Democrat in years. Thanks to his extraordinary success in building an independent campaign, Obama would sit down with special interests knowing that his mailing list is bigger than theirs and his ability to raise money puts theirs in the shade. A capital that used to be impressed by the Bush family's thousands-strong Christmas-card list boggles at the millions of names in Obama's digital address book. If his lead in the polls stands up through Election Day, he'll win more than 50% of the popular vote—something Bill Clinton never achieved.

President McCain

LIKE SO MANY TRAILING CANDIDATES before him, McCain recently evoked the memory of Truman's come-from-behind victory in 1948. More than most, though, McCain actually flourishes as an underdog, and it's easy to picture him grinning broadly as he brandishes a newspaper—or screen grab—with the mistaken headline OBAMA DEFEATS MCCAIN. Unfortunately, the howling aftermath of a McCain miracle is just as easy to imagine: liberals blaming an eruption of racism; Democrats complaining of a dirty campaign; conspiracy theorists charging voting-machine fraud; conservatives piling rhetorical firewood under the feet of GOP defectors like Colin Powell, Charles Fried and Scott McClellan. "Both sides of Pennsylvania Avenue will be itching for a fight," predicts Republican insider Ed Rogers. "It will be ugly."

Americans have shown a taste for divided government in recent decades but maybe not as divided as the early years of a McCain presidency would be. The Republican President would face not only a crowd of resentful Democrats on Capitol Hill but also deep splits within his own party. The closing weeks of McCain's campaign produced a soap opera of Republican dysfunction. McCain gambled his hopes on a bold move to pass a Wall Street rescue plan. House Republicans cut him loose and defeated the bill, sending the stock market crashing and swinging the momentum to Obama. A steady parade of prominent Republicans jumped ship. McCain's aides and supporters began the ritual finger-pointing that is the political version of hospice care, while Palin and others dear to the GOP base subtly started jockeying for advantage in 2012.

So President McCain would find himself alone in hostile territory, beset by foes of every variety. Just the way he likes it. If any politician in recent memory could find success in that environment, it might be McCain. All his greatest hits as a Senator are variations on the same theme: If both sides are mad at me, I must be doing something right. His crusade for campaign-finance reforms was opposed by interest groups ranging from NARAL on the left to the NRA on the right. His "Gang of 14" compromise on judicial nominations derailed true-believer hopes on both sides for a spectacular train wreck. His stubborn advocacy for a troop surge in Iraq annoyed the anti-war left and the Bush supporters of the right. McCain understands that the decisive slice of the American public is highly skeptical of both political poles. At his most authentic, he harnesses public opinion to neutralize the extremes.

What works for a legislator—who picks and chooses his battles—might be impossible for a President, however. Given the relentless, unscheduled traffic of crises through the Oval Office, he needs a reliable roster of allies. McCain would probably court the center by appointing some Democrats to his Administration—a move he has signaled throughout his campaign. (He shocked his party when he suggested New York liberal Andrew Cuomo to head the Securities and Exchange Commission and said he would love to have Obama supporter Warren Buffett as his Treasury Secretary.) He might be able to sign a cap-and-trade energy bill—though it would hurt him with GOP conservatives. He might be able to please the right with some judicial appointments—but that would hurt him with Democrats. He could please hawks by rattling his saber at Iran and reach out to doves by using his credibility as the son and grandson of admirals to cut some Pentagon waste.

At a deeper level, the McCain years would see a constant tug-of-war between the President's pragmatic head and his instinctive, idealistic heart. His impulse to denounce pork barrelers—"I will make them famous," he likes to promise—would compete with his need to curry favor with as many allies in Washington as he can find. His desire to leave a mark on

history—by signing a Democratic energy bill or health-care-reform bill, say—would clash with his gut-level identification with the GOP.

Washington veterans agree that McCain's conservative ideas for tax cuts and health-care reform wouldn't stand a chance in a Democratic Congress. But he might enlist enough swing-district Democrats—whose hold on their seats is tenuous—to join congressional Republicans in a grand compromise between the spenders on Capitol Hill and the tax cutters in the White House.



The Hot Seat

President McCain would face divided government; Obama, one-party rule. But both would confront the competing interests of an antsy legislature

Who would be pulling for him through thick and thin though? No matter how much the Democrats might like striking deals with McCain, in the end they would be planning his demise in the next election. Meanwhile, given his age (72) and the long history of mistrust between McCain and the Republican right, his other flank would be in danger too. Conservatives would probably demand a steady stream of vetoes of Democratic legislation, and any failure to deliver would strengthen his younger GOP rivals. The McCain-Palin relationship would be

Washington's answer to King Arthur and Mordred.

McCain would find himself on a tightrope, surrounded by people trying to push him off. The last President to operate in such straitened circumstances was Richard Nixon. In 1969 he was inaugurated with a weak mandate, shaky popularity, a fractured party behind him and a Democratic majority on the Hill. Lurching left on domestic policy, veering right in his speeches, promising to end the war in Vietnam even as he escalated

the bombing, Nixon infuriated his critics and confounded his allies. The roller coaster finally ended with his landslide re-election just as he was stepping off a cliff into disgrace.

A sad fact of contemporary politics is that we've lost the ability to get through a campaign without transforming honorable alternatives into cartoons of good and evil. Disagreement is out; denunciation is in. The distinctive tune of our day is hysteria with a drumbeat of hyperbole, all set in the key of bad faith.

Underneath, however, Americans still long for the mystic chords of memory strummed by the better angels of our nature—a patriotic harmony that we like to think is the song of our nation at its best. This is why the two candidates who fared best in this election were the ones who spoke most convincingly about bringing us together. When the two are finally narrowed to one, his mandate will be change, his timetable short and his environment stormy with division. At a historic moment desperate for a successful President, everything will hinge on one man's ability to navigate by the clouded star of common purpose. ■

The two candidates spoke convincingly about bringing us together. The winner's mandate will be change—and his environment stormy with division



Far from home Stevens, in front of the federal courthouse in Washington where he was convicted, may argue on appeal that his trial should have rightfully been held in Alaska

Last Stand. Ted Stevens is a convicted felon. What his uncertain future means for Alaska and the GOP

BY NATHAN THORNBURGH

THE FEDERAL PRISON CLOSEST TO Anchorage sits in tiny Sheridan, Ore., where the fenceless minimum-security wing already houses 491 inmates, including a few Alaska legislators who were greased by oil money. There's an outdoor track, plus lots of fresh air perfumed by local vineyards and what former Anchorage state representative Tom Anderson calls "very professional and respectful staff."

Joining them soon may be Senator Ted Stevens, Alaska's senior Republican, who was found guilty on Oct. 27 on seven felony counts related to \$250,000 of unreported gifts from influential constituents. Stevens, whose political trademark was his immense success at bringing home the bacon—\$3.4 billion in federal earmarks for Alaska since 1995—was convicted by a jury in Washington for making false statements about gifts like his new massage chair, a pricey sled-dog puppy and, most of all, massive renovations to his home that were largely comped by Bill Allen, the disgraced CEO of Veco Corp., an oil-services company.

Stevens, 84, had predicted the outcome before he even knew the FBI was listening to his telephone conversations. In a particularly incriminating wiretap that was introduced as evidence in his trial, he assured Allen that "the worst that can happen to us is we ... might have to serve a little time in jail."

Actually, darker days are now in store.

Before his conviction, Stevens was locked in a tight re-election race with Anchorage mayor Mark Begich; after the jury returned a verdict, Stevens' poll



A few improvements Stevens' home received \$250,000 in unreported upgrades from friends

numbers dipped. But even if Stevens does eke out a victory, he is already facing calls from across his party to resign soon afterward. Both John McCain and Sarah Palin called on Stevens to step down after the election. Under Alaska law, a resignation would set in motion a chain of events leading to a special election to replace him 60 to 90 days later. If he chooses not to resign and his appeals fail, the Senate would probably toss him out. "There is zero chance," said GOP leader Mitch McConnell, "that a Senator with a felony conviction would not be expelled from the Senate."

Any of these fates—defeat, resignation or expulsion—would be an ironic career ender for the 40-year Washington veteran whose control of the federal purse strings once made his colleagues practically genuflect in his presence. Longtime friend Jack Roderick, who practiced law with Stevens 40 years ago, sounded subdued at his Anchorage home the day of the verdict. "It's just sad on a personal level," said Roderick, who believes his old friend is innocent. "No question, he showed bad judgment to get associated with a guy like Bill Allen. He got sloppy."

Stevens treated the verdict like just another feature of a re-election campaign, claiming "prosecutorial misconduct" and vowing to "fight this unjust verdict with every ounce of energy I have." It is possible that in Alaska, with oil prices tanking, voters could decide that their state will have a hard time building the kinds of roads, bridges and schools they've come to expect without Stevens there to lard up the federal budget.

Stevens' years in power have earned him loyalty among Alaskans. At a Federation of Natives meeting on the weekend before the verdict—more than 4,000 native leaders in a massive convention hall in Anchorage—Stevens sent a video message in which he asked for their prayers and apologized for missing the meeting. Julie Kitka, a Chugach native who is the federation's president and was a character witness for the defense in Stevens' trial, predicted that the state's 125,000 natives—about 20% of the population—will stick by him. At the end of his video, she said, the entire audience rose and gave Stevens a standing ovation.

But local affection won't trump the mess he made. If Stevens loses on Nov. 4, the Dems could inch closer to a 60-seat Senate supermajority. He and Palin have not been particularly close, but she could also be tarnished by the sorry spectacle in Alaska. In the Lower 48, the only people cheering Stevens now are Democrats. ■

Where They Stand

A survey of the candidates' positions on the key issues—and how, in their own words, each man would tackle some of the biggest questions

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI/WASHINGTON

THE CLOSER YOU GET TO AN ELECTION, THE HARDER it can be to tell where the candidates stand on the issues that matter most. It was easier to distinguish John McCain and Barack Obama when their top worry was locking down the party faithful on the

TAXES

AFGHANISTAN
AND IRAQ

ENERGY

HEALTH CARE

EDUCATION

TRADE

HOUSING

way to winning their respective nominations. But the start of the fall campaign set off a furious race to the center. Both candidates soon became agents of change, just not in the way they may have meant: both have changed some positions, fudged others and obscured many behind a veil of appealing rhetoric. Once opposed to offshore oil-drilling, Obama now supports it, with conditions. Whereas McCain once scorned talks with Iran, he now backs

them, with conditions. Though you might not know it from their speeches, the two men are almost indistinguishable in their short-term approach to the war in Iraq.

Much has been written about the differences between the two men—their experience, their temperament, their instincts—but the race remains a contest of issues. Here are side-by-side comparisons of both candidates' proposals and the clarity of their positions on seven key issues. In each case, we invited McCain and Obama to answer a key question that frames their differences. That may help clarify where they stand. Judging their credibility is up to you. —WITH REPORTING BY KRISTINA DELL

AND ALEXANDRA SILVER/NEW YORK AND MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON

Taxes

MCCAIN



Would cut corporate tax rate to 25%, from 35%



Gives an estimated \$325 tax break to the middle 20% of taxpayers, who make \$37,600 to \$66,400



Cuts long-term capital gains tax to 7.5% in 2009 and 2010

THE BASICS

Raise taxes on businesses?

Tax cuts for the middle class?

Increase the capital gains tax?

OBAMA



Calls for boosting taxes on some multinationals that outsource abroad



Gives an estimated \$1.118 tax break to the middle 20% of taxpayers, who make \$37,600 to \$66,400



Raises the maximum capital gains tax to 20%, from 15%, for families earning more than \$250,000

VAGUE CLEAR

VAGUE CLEAR

The Big Question

Should the U.S. increase income tax rates on the wealthiest Americans?

MCCAIN

NO

RAISING INCOME TAXES, investment taxes and business taxes during an economic downturn will hurt all Americans, even if they are not the ones directly paying the taxes. We should cut investment and business taxes, and we should offer incentives for businesses to engage in new research and development. We should offer tax relief to middle-class families. And we must resist the seductive call to raise taxes on those who have the resources to invest in the American economy and get us back on track.

OBAMA

YES

TO FINANCE MIDDLE-CLASS tax cuts and other priorities like health care, I will ask families making more than \$250,000 per year to give back part of their Bush tax cut. But under my plan, every family, regardless of their income, will pay lower tax rates than they would have in the 1990s. I will cut taxes for 95% of workers and their families. My plan offers three times the tax cut for middle-class families as the McCain plan. I will also end tax cuts for companies that ship jobs overseas and use that money to cut taxes for small businesses and companies that create jobs in America.

Afghanistan and Iraq

MCCAIN	THE BASICS	OBAMA
<p>X</p> <p>Leery that security gains could be reversed, he opposes any timetable for pullout</p>	<p>✓</p> <p>Favor a timetable for leaving Iraq?</p>	<p>✓</p> <p>Calls for pulling out all 15 combat brigades, roughly half of all U.S. troops, by May 2010</p>
<p>✓</p> <p>Was for an increase in troops even before Bush rolled out the surge strategy in 2007</p>	<p>✓</p> <p>Backed the surge of additional U.S. forces to Iraq?</p>	<p>X</p> <p>Strongly opposed it when announced; now says it has succeeded beyond expectations</p>
<p>✓</p> <p>Supports targeted "engagement with insurgents" where it can help disrupt and thin their ranks</p>	<p>✓</p> <p>Support talks with the Taliban, as with Sunni tribes in Iraq?</p>	<p>✓</p> <p>Says U.S. should explore whether opportunities for productive talks exist with Taliban</p>
<p>VAGUE</p> <p>CLEAR</p>		<p>VAGUE</p> <p>CLEAR</p>



The Big Question

Does the worsening situation in Afghanistan require accelerating combat-troop withdrawals from Iraq?

MCCAIN	OBAMA
<p>NO</p> <p>THE WORSENING SITUATION in Afghanistan requires a national counterinsurgency strategy integrating all elements of power, unity of command, deployment of three additional brigades of U.S. and allied forces, doubling the size of the Afghan National Army, a White House Afghanistan coordinator, a presidential envoy for regional diplomacy and strengthened governance capacity in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. The additional forces could come from conditions-based withdrawal from Iraq, NATO and non-NATO allies, U.S. forces not deployed overseas and a significantly large Army and Marine Corps.</p>	<p>YES</p> <p>I HAVE LONG CALLED FOR A shift in focus from Iraq to Afghanistan. As President, I will responsibly redeploy our combat brigades out of Iraq, which will help us restore our military and free up resources for the fight against al-Qaeda and the Taliban. I would send at least two or three additional combat brigades to Afghanistan. I would also increase training for Afghan security forces, nonmilitary assistance to help Afghans develop alternatives to poppy-farming, safeguards to prevent corruption and pursue a comprehensive strategy to crack down on cross-border terrorism from the al-Qaeda sanctuary in Pakistan.</p>

Energy

MCCAIN	THE BASICS	OBAMA
<p>X</p> <p>Would cut ethanol subsidies; offers \$5,000 tax credit for zero-emission-car buyers</p>	<p>✓</p> <p>Boost biofuel subsidies, which have been linked to higher food prices?</p>	<p>✓</p> <p>His \$150 billion energy plan would increase ethanol and other biofuel subsidies</p>
<p>✓</p> <p>Aims to cut emissions 60% from 1990 levels by 2050 using cap and trade</p>	<p>✓</p> <p>Cut greenhouse-gas emissions with a cap-and-trade system?</p>	<p>✓</p> <p>Promises to cut emissions 80% from 1990 levels by 2050 using a cap-and-trade system</p>
<p>✓</p> <p>Would build 45 new nuclear plants by 2030; supports storage at Yucca Mountain, Nev.</p>	<p>✓</p> <p>Build more nuclear power plants in the U.S.?</p>	<p>X</p> <p>No new plants without unspecified security advances; opposes Yucca Mountain storage</p>
<p>VAGUE</p> <p>CLEAR</p>		<p>VAGUE</p> <p>CLEAR</p>



The Big Question

Should the U.S. unconditionally allow offshore drilling?

MCCAIN	OBAMA
<p>YES</p> <p>WE MUST TAKE ADVANTAGE of our domestic oil and natural gas resources so that we do not continue to send half a trillion dollars overseas—some of it to countries that are openly hostile to America. But to achieve long-term energy independence as well as to halt global climate change, we need to diversify our energy resources beyond carbon-based fuels. We need to invest in nuclear power. We also have to work to bring to market renewable-energy technologies like wind, solar and hydro power. We must also invest in clean-coal technology and promote energy conservation.</p>	<p>NO</p> <p>I AM OPEN TO ADDITIONAL offshore drilling if it is part of a comprehensive, bipartisan energy package that invests in renewable energy and works to end the U.S. dependence on foreign oil. I will invest \$150 billion over the next decade to develop renewable and alternative energy sources and create 5 million new jobs while ending our dependence on foreign oil. I believe we must invest in a range of new technologies, including wind power, solar power and next-generation biofuels.</p>

Health Care

MCCAIN

THE BASICS

OBAMA



Would end employer-based exclusions but replace them with individual tax credits



Lets those who want to shop for non-employer health plans buy coverage in other states



Opposes all mandates for health care

Increase taxes to pay for expanded care?

Require businesses to provide health care for most employees?

Require children's health insurance?



Plan calls for rolling back the Bush tax cuts for households making more than \$250,000



Except for small businesses, all employers must cover employees or pay a payroll tax



All children must have health insurance, with a goal of universal coverage

VAGUE CLEAR

VAGUE CLEAR

The Big Question

Should employers, not individuals, take the lead in providing health care for Americans?

MCCAIN

NO

UNDER THE CURRENT system, Americans get a tax break on health insurance only if they receive that insurance through their employer. I would reform the tax subsidy to be fair, replacing the existing break with a refundable tax credit that American families can use to either keep their employer-provided coverage or help to buy a policy of their choice in the individual market. Replacing the exclusion with the credit would benefit American families not only through greater competition in the insurance market but also by giving the average family \$1,200 to \$1,400 in additional benefits.

OBAMA

YES

MY PLAN BUILDS ON THE current system of employer-sponsored health care by offering new choices and lowering costs by \$2,500 per family. If you like your current coverage, you can keep it under my plan. If you don't have health care or want new choices, individuals and businesses will have the opportunity to purchase quality private health plans just like those offered to members of Congress. My plan will require insurance companies to cover pre-existing conditions and will provide tax credits to small businesses and working families.

Education

MCCAIN

THE BASICS

OBAMA



Backs charter schools as part of his policy of increasing school choice and competition



Says it needs work but offers few details



Says, "We need to ... help bad teachers find another line of work"

Support for charter schools?

Reform No Child Left Behind?

Increase ability to fire teachers?



Wants to increase funding for charter schools, though highlights the need for accountability



Would fund and reform it, reducing focus on tests and punishment of underperforming schools



Provides assistance for underperforming teachers but would replace them if progress isn't made

VAGUE CLEAR

VAGUE CLEAR

The Big Question

Should parents be given vouchers to enable them to send their children to any school?

MCCAIN

YES

OUR EDUCATION SYSTEM still seeks to avoid genuine accountability and responsibility for producing well-educated children. I will place parents and children at the center of the education process, empowering parents by greatly expanding their ability to choose among schools for their children. I will target federal funds to recruit new teachers for the neediest education settings and provide tutors and other learning opportunities to low-income students. And I will make sure that these funds are controlled by school principals and parents—who know local communities and students the best—not Washington bureaucrats.

OBAMA

NO

I BELIEVE THAT PUBLIC education in America should foster innovation and provide students with varied, high-quality learning opportunities. I helped pass a law to double the number of charter schools in Chicago, and I have proposed doubling funding for the federal charter-school program. I believe that graduation from a high-quality high school and the opportunity to succeed in college must be the birthright of every child in our country. My comprehensive plan gives all children access to early-childhood education, puts an excellent teacher in every classroom and makes a college education within reach of every American.

Trade

McCain

THE BASICS

Obama

✓
Calls it is a "no-brainer" that would save the U.S. money and increase the stability of an ally

Back free-trade agreement with Colombia?

✗
Opposes it because of Colombia's continuing record of violence against unions

✓
Emphasizes benefits of trade but says he'll "build effective enforcement of global trading rules"

Boost enforcement of existing trade rules?

✓
Says he'll "pressure the World Trade Organization to enforce trade agreements"

✓
Voted for it, reflecting his general open-market approach

Favor 2005 Central American Free Trade Agreement?

✗
Voted against it because of inadequate labor and environmental protections

VAGUE CLEAR

VAGUE CLEAR

The Big Question

Should the U.S. renegotiate NAFTA and other trade agreements to help American workers?

McCain

Obama

NO

YES

WITHDRAWAL FROM NAFTA would be a giant step backward for American workers and would strain our relationships with our next-door neighbors, Mexico and Canada. I know, however, that trade is not always good for everyone. The answer to that problem is not closing foreign markets to American products but upgrading and reforming our unemployment insurance policy for the 21st century and creating a tax and regulatory climate in America that encourages job creation and entrepreneurship.

I WILL WORK WITH THE leaders of Canada and Mexico to fix NAFTA so that it works for American workers. I believe that NAFTA and its potential were oversold to the American people. It has not created the jobs and wealth that were promised. We can, and must, make trade work for American workers by opening up foreign markets to U.S. goods and maintaining strong labor and environmental standards. As President, I will work to amend NAFTA so that it lives up to those important principles.

Housing

McCain

THE BASICS

Obama

✗
Troubled mortgages should be bought and replaced with fixed-rate, FHA-guaranteed ones

Force banks to directly adjust rates of falling mortgages?

✗
Would give banks incentives to buy or refinance existing mortgages

✓
Down payments for FHA mortgages should be increased as conditions allow

Support stricter down-payment rules?

✗
Would instead increase penalties on shady brokers and lenders

✗
Favors the current bankruptcy code, which prevents courts from adjusting mortgages

Ease bankruptcy rules?

✓
Wants to alter the bankruptcy rule so judges can modify and reduce people's mortgages

VAGUE CLEAR

VAGUE CLEAR

The Big Question

To stabilize housing values, should the government buy troubled mortgages at a home's original cost?

McCain

Obama

YES

NO

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THOSE families who have worked hard enough to finance home ownership not have that dream crushed under the weight of the wrong mortgage. For those that cannot make payments, mortgages must be restructured to put losses on the books and put homeowners in manageable mortgages. My Resurgence Plan would purchase mortgages directly from homeowners and mortgage servicers and replace them with manageable mortgages that will keep families in their homes. The new mortgage would be an FHA-guaranteed fixed-rate mortgage at terms manageable for the homeowner.

I STRONGLY DISAGREE WITH John McCain's proposal to buy mortgages at their full face value, which would provide a \$300 billion windfall to banks that lent irresponsibly, while ensuring that taxpayers lose money. I support aggressive action to help struggling homeowners refinance their mortgages and stay in their homes. I was an early supporter of legislation passed this summer that encourages borrowers and mortgage lenders to write down the principal on troubled mortgages. I pushed to include in the recent financial-market legislation authority for the government to buy up troubled mortgages.



Decision Day In a Red Town

Ohio's Hamilton County has long been one of the nation's most reliably Republican areas. Will it tip the election to Obama this year?

BY AMY SULLIVAN/CINCINNATI



The New
Battlegrounds
Hamilton County,
Ohio

MODEST, WORKMANLIKE and a little wary of theatrics, Ohioans have nonetheless developed a flair for the dramatic when it comes to presidential elections. In 2004, election night came and

went with no clear winner in the Buckeye State, and for a few long hours it seemed that the nightmare of 2000 just might repeat itself. When the results were finally tabulated, George W. Bush had won the state by just over 118,000 votes—a differ-

ence of fewer than 11 ballots per precinct.

This year Ohio is gearing up to put on another show. Both campaigns have spent enough time here that they should have invested in Quickpay cards for doughnut runs to Tim Hortons. John McCain chose Dayton for the site of Sarah Palin's coming-out party, and Barack Obama turned up in Canton to launch his "closing argument" speech for the last week of the race. In the latest *TIME/CNN*/Opinion Research poll, Obama held a 51%-to-47% lead over McCain but trailed him 48% to 50% among pivotal suburban voters.

Both McCain and Obama expected hand-to-hand combat in Ohio as the 2008 campaign drew to a close. But Hamilton County, which includes and surrounds Cincinnati, was never in anyone's battle plan. Over the past 100 years, its voters have backed the Democratic presidential candidate only four times. The county has been such unfriendly territory for Democrats that former Ohio governor John Gilligan, a Cincinnati native, once famously remarked that, "they hunt Democrats with dogs for sport in Hamilton County."

This year, however, Hamilton is up

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT:

Hamilton County's swing voters this year are fiscally conservative but socially moderate

The Obama campaign is counting on a record turnout of African-American voters

Cincinnati is home to major social-conservative activists, who form the core of McCain's effort in Hamilton

In the upscale neighborhood of Hyde Park Square, voters are torn

for grabs. Nestled in the southwestern corner of Ohio, where table-flat corn and wheat fields abruptly give way to hills, Cincinnati overlooks Kentucky from its perch above the Ohio River. "It's really two cities," says Dorothy Weil, 78, whose husband chaired the local Democratic Party two decades ago, "the East and the West." Culturally and politically, the West Side closely resembles its Kentucky neighbors and is dotted with working-class Catholic towns where people still place one another by asking which parochial high school they attended. Across town is the East Side, an affluent web of hillside communities that house executives from Macy's, Procter & Gamble and the seven other *FORTUNE* 500 companies that are based in Cincinnati.

For years, the social conservatism of the western part of the county and the fiscal conservatism of the eastern part formed an unbreakable Republican lock in Hamilton. Democrats like Weil focused their efforts on urban neighborhoods and only occasionally picked up support from surrounding townships and cities. But this year the Obama campaign sees a chance to pick the lock. Four years ago, Bush won the county by less than 6 percentage points; in 2006, Democrats took over the county commission for the first time in 44 years. In 2000, the last time both parties had a competitive primary, 115,300 voters participated on the GOP side, while only 54,600 cast votes for Democrats. This year the numbers are flipped: 83,400 voted for Republican candidates, and nearly 165,000 participated in the Democratic primary. Although Hillary Clinton won Ohio easily, Obama's best showing statewide came in Hamilton, where he won 63% of the vote. "We have a reservoir of support there," says Isaac Baker, Obama's Ohio spokesman.

Much of that reservoir is African American. While Bush chipped into Ohio's black vote in 2004, the Obama campaign expects to see black support above 90%. In a county like Hamilton, which is one-quarter African American, that enthusiasm could provide the margin of victory. Obama's army has blanketed the county with signs and posters. Capitalizing on Ohio's early-voting law, it has organized van rides to shuttle students, low-income residents and even homeless voters to the early polling station downtown. One Obama aide says the campaign needs socially conservative whites on the East Side, but adds, "We're expecting record turnout among African Americans."

The strength of Obama's surge in Hamilton is evident in the lift it is giving down-ballot Democrats who otherwise might not stand a chance. On a recent afternoon, congressional candidate Steve



Inside Hamilton County

PROFILE

Population
842,369

Hispanic
1.7%

Median household income
HAMILTON COUNTY \$48,416
U.S. \$50,740

Unemployment
HAMILTON COUNTY 6.9%
U.S. 6.3%

Poverty
HAMILTON COUNTY 12.8%
U.S. 13.0%

Source: Census Bureau 2007 American Community Survey

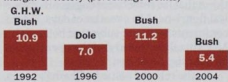
POLITICS

Registered voters

605,634

Democrats **166,528***
Republicans **94,922***
Unaffiliated **344,184**

Margin of victory (percentage points)



*Only voters are classified according to the party primary in which they voted this year. Those who did not vote in a primary this year are listed as unaffiliated.

Driehaus spent a few hours knocking on doors in Forest Park, a North Side working-class suburb of mostly African-American families that have moved out of the city. It's a neighborhood where nearly every front window sports a yellow ribbon or American-flag decal, and Driehaus barely needs to make his pitch. "Oh, yeah, we're voting for you," says a middle-aged woman. "We saw you at the rally with Obama." At another house, he exchanges a fist pound with a 3-year-old African-American girl named Kennedy.

Twelve miles (19.3 km) and several tax

brackets away is Indian Hill, an East Side suburb that is home to those fiscally conservative swing voters the Obama campaign would like to win over. A drive around Indian Hill's winding country lanes leaves a visitor thinking it's less a town than a state park with sprawling manors. Bush beat John Kerry here by better than 3 to 1, and McCain and Palin have each dropped by in the past few months to raise money. But just a few weeks before the 2008 election, the yard signs anchored at the end of the long driveways were as likely to read OBAMA as MCCAIN. On Oct. 22, McCain and Palin flew in to fire up several thousand of their supporters at a local airport hangar. "Nothing is inevitable!" the Senator shouted. "We never give up. We never quit."

The changing political landscape in Hamilton County has left the McCain campaign with only one sure bloc of voters—social conservatives—and even they have required convincing. Cincinnati is home to some of the country's most active social-conservative leaders, including anti-pornography crusader Phil Burrell. Many have never forgiven McCain for famously describing religious conservatives as intolerant in 2000. The McCain campaign hired Mike Huckabee's Ohio director to help smooth relations with social conservatives. The candidate himself came to Cincinnati in late June for a private meeting with half a dozen leaders to remind them of his opposition to abortion and ask for their support. After that conversation, Burrell declared himself a "changed man."

"We knew early on that this was a constituency that we had to make every effort to get on board," says Joe Seaton, the McCain aide in charge of southwest Ohio. "And we have done so." But the outreach, along with McCain's selection of Palin as his running mate, may have alienated socially moderate swing voters and explains why McCain aides say they are targeting "the Cincinnati media market"—meaning more conservative outer counties like Butler and Warren—instead of the once rock-solid Hamilton.

There is one other piece of drama unfolding here: election officials are preparing for a wild Nov. 4, with turnout rates that could reach 80%. Sally Krisel, Hamilton County's director of elections, has ordered new machines and plans to set up extra tables with privacy screens if the booths reach capacity. "I even ordered extra clipboards," says Krisel. "If we get really jammed, we'll stick ballots on clipboards and start handing those out." So for anyone looking to predict the outcome in Ohio this year, forget exit polls and anecdotal reports—but pay attention to whether those clipboards come out in Hamilton. ■

Hidin' Biden

Though Obama's campaign struggles to keep his voluble running mate in check, Biden has been valuable in connecting with swing-state voters

BY KAREN TUMULTY

ANYONE WHO HAS WATCHED Joe Biden over 35 years in the Senate might have a little bit of trouble recognizing the guy who is running to be Barack Obama's Vice President. Oh, yes, he looks like the same fellow. But traveling with Biden during this campaign has sometimes been like reporting on a politician packaged in shrink-wrap. While his windy, off-point pontification was the stuff of legend among his Senate colleagues, Biden is now leashed to a teleprompter even when he is talking in a high school gym that is three-quarters empty. The exposure hound who in recent years appeared more often than any other guest on the Sunday talk shows is a virtual stranger to the small band of reporters on his plane—less accessible than even Sarah Palin is to her traveling pack of bloodhounds. And Biden keeps to a schedule that provides a minimum of off-the-cuff encounters with voters, except across a rope line.

The campaign's caution is understandable. With Obama leading in all the national polls, only a few things would seem to have the potential to throw him off course. One of those things is his running mate. Sticking to a script has never been one of Biden's stronger suits, as he demonstrated recently at a Seattle fund raiser. "Mark my words: it will not be six months before the world tests Barack Obama like they did John Kennedy," Biden told the \$1,000-a-ticket Democratic donors, who no doubt were startled to discover that the Fifth Horseman of the Apocalypse had ridden into the downtown Sheraton. "Re-



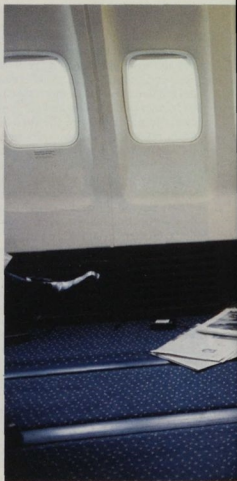
Foot in mouth Saturday Night Live spoofs Biden's "rhetorical flourishes"

member, I said it standing here, if you don't remember anything else I said. Watch—we're going to have an international crisis, a generated crisis, to test the mettle of this guy." A bemused Obama responded, "I think that Joe sometimes engages in rhetorical flourishes." In a matter of days, Biden's comments were the subject of both a John McCain television ad and the opening skit on *Saturday Night Live*.

To the relief of some in Obama's camp, an operation that runs on discipline, there have been fewer lampoonable episodes than many had expected when Obama tapped the man who had famously described him as "articulate and bright and clean and a nice-looking guy." Whereas McCain's pick of a running mate was a big move aimed at jolting the race, Obama had hoped instead to bolster his foreign policy credentials, give him a second chance with white Catholics and, above all, do no harm. And though some Obama allies had qualms about Biden's tendency to run off the rails, they noted he had kept it in check during his own presidential campaign. Since being picked for VP, the Delaware Senator has performed well in what advis-

ers say were his three biggest tests: his convention speech in Denver; his debate with Sarah Palin; and stumping for working-class voters in Pennsylvania, the crucial battleground state where Biden was born and to which he has made six trips since joining the Democratic ticket. In a recent national Pew Research Center poll, 60% of those surveyed said they had a favorable view of Biden, compared with 44% who felt that way about Palin. And that was before a civil war of anonymous quotes broke out within the McCain-Palin operation, with Palin's allies saying she is frustrated enough to "go rogue" against her handlers and McCain's calling his running mate a "diva."

Meanwhile, the no-drama Obama campaign has deployed Biden to the smallest hardscrabble corners of America's swing states, where he makes common cause by invoking his own working-class roots in Scranton, Pa. He speaks of his father, who told Biden to always get up when he got knocked down. He says he wishes his mother could be there to say, "God bless ya." Biden even invokes his 10-year-old granddaughter Finnegan, whose favor-





Road warrior Biden on board the campaign plane. The former press hound rarely ventures to talk to reporters traveling with him

ite expression—"Hellooo?"—sums up Biden's reaction to the efforts of his "old dear friend" McCain to distance himself from George W. Bush.

The crowds that Biden draws are smaller and older than the throngs at Obama's megarallies. A disproportionate number wear windbreakers and sweatshirts that identify them as members of unions representing mine workers, firefighters and painters. Flashing his 250-watt set of teeth, Biden rarely fails to bring them to their feet with a stump speech that goes from thunder ("I've had enough! Our country has had enough!") to whispered intimacy ("Ladies and gentlemen, it's about *dignity*"), and back again ("I love ya! Get up, Virginia! Get up!").

Only a few things would seem to throw Obama off course. One is his running mate

As risky as it can be to let Biden step away from the teleprompter, it is in these moments that he can be most affecting. When he made a rare unscheduled stop at an ice cream parlor in Charleston, W.Va., Biden encountered the owner's daughter, a 28-year-old woman who told him she had suffered a brain aneurysm last December similar to the one that nearly killed Biden in 1988. The Senator threw an arm around Sara Beal's neck, pulled her to him and whispered in her ear. By the time he let her go about five minutes later, planting a kiss on top of her head, both of them were near tears.

At that same stop, a reporter shouted a question about McCain's new ad featuring Biden's comments in Seattle and got no answer beyond stony silence. In the two days that I was aboard his Boeing 737 campaign plane, Biden ventured only a few steps outside his cabin at the front of the plane, which kept him safely away from the reporters at the back. When Biden suddenly appeared at the door to the main cabin, Dallas *Morning News* reporter Todd Gillman attempted to take a snapshot—a not-uncommon occurrence

aboard a campaign plane—and was told by a campaign staffer, "We prefer that you not take photos." According to a blog post by Ryan Corsaro, the CBS News embed on the Biden plane, the candidate has not taken questions from the journalists aboard his plane since Sept. 7, but he has done numerous interviews with local reporters. That is typically safer terrain, though in one contentious television interview on Oct. 23, an Orlando anchorwoman asked him whether Obama is a Marxist. For once, even Biden—who did the interview from North Carolina—seemed dumbfounded. "Are you joking?" he asked.

So what kind of Vice President would Biden be? His relationship with Obama is still in its formative phase, but history may hold some clues. It has been 48 years since a sitting Senator has been elected President, but in that time, five went directly from the Senate to the vice presidency. Some of them—Walter Mondale comes to mind—served as all-purpose advisers and troubleshooters for the President. Others chose specific portfolios—as Al Gore did in taking charge of areas like the environment, technology and reorganizing the operation of the Executive Branch.

Biden has a breadth of expertise that comes from having served as chairman of the Judiciary and the Foreign Relations committees in the Senate, two substance-heavy posts. But his ability to maneuver in either of those areas as Veep might quickly run him afoul of both the Attorney General and the Secretary of State. Biden will want a big say in helping decide who in an Obama Administration would get those two posts, if only because he will know how to get Obama's choices confirmed in the Senate better than anyone else. But those close to Biden say the model he would follow would more likely be that of Mondale. As one put it, "Joe Biden is the ultimate got-your-back kind of guy, and whatever that ends up meaning, that is what he'll do for Obama."

It would have been nice to ask that question of Biden himself, but a campaign spokesman told me the Senator was suffering from a cold that made it a strain to give interviews. (I didn't glean evidence of any symptoms during the four speeches that I watched him give over two days.) The spokesman also said Biden would consider it "presumptuous" to talk about how he would perform the job for which he is running. Or maybe it simply wasn't in the script. ■

Moments to Remember

Yes, it was an unforgettable political campaign. But what people recall most depends on whom you ask. A gallery of voices on the legacies of Campaign 2008



A Moment in Philadelphia

By Garry Wills

THE MOST MEMORABLE ASPECT OF THE RACE, IN MY MIND, came when Barack Obama stepped back, in Philadelphia, from the standard charge-and-countercharge exchanges of a campaign to take a long look at the problems of race in our history. It was as pivotal as John Kennedy's speech on religion to Protestant ministers in his race for President. But we do not read Kennedy's speech for its content now. I believe Obama's speech will have lasting historical significance, from the moment he could say, as part of a bid for the presidency, that "I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on earth is my story even possible."

Wills is professor of history emeritus at Northwestern University



A Study in Contrasts

By Jay Winik

I KEEP THINKING ABOUT that heart-stopping week when the economic crisis broke, a week when Americans were scared, fretful and angry: like a Civil War general itching to lead one last glorious charge, the 72-year-old John McCain broke off his campaign, rushed to Washington, cradled a cell phone to his ear and sought to help pass the financial rescue bill. Meanwhile, there was an unruffled Obama, looking composed and elegant and steady—might one say presidential?—reassuringly convening his economic advisers, many of whom comprise the modern-day Wise Men of the financial establishment. Here, at this Rubicon for the nation, was a profound study in contrasts for the voters to consider, a moment when two images transcended all the talking points and canned speeches. Here, too, in this one moment, was when Americans would decide who their next President would be.

Winik is the author of *April 1865* and *The Great Upheaval*

An Election of Firsts

By the Rev. Jim Wallis

THIS COULD BE THE most transformational election in years. The younger generation, which has cynically dismissed politics as useless, has been energized and engaged as never before. Even poor inner-city youth, usually disengaged from "public life," are excited about an election. Many Evangelicals and Catholics have redefined "moral" issues to include more than abortion and gay marriage, especially poverty and the environment. The economic crisis could open up a deeper national discussion about the relationship of democracy and the market, the need for new social regulation and self-regulation, and the reconnection of personal and social responsibility. And the election of Barack Obama would immediately change the image of America in the world.

Wallis is a Christian author, preacher and activist. He is president of Sojourners, a national network connecting faith and justice

'I will never forget the look on our 2-year-old daughter's face as she watched Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama debate. My wife and I realized that our little girl would only know an America in which every child can aspire to be President. Reflected in her gaze, we saw the faith of generations—men and women of all hues who have never stopped believing that as great as America is, we must be greater still.'

—Benjamin Jealous, president of the NAACP

An Encounter in Pennsylvania

By Bill O'Reilly

MY INTERVIEW WITH Barack Obama during the Republican Convention brought me some insight into the presidential campaign that I certainly did not have before the chat.

For months my producers had been trying to nail down a time and place for the

interview, and finally it came together very quickly. The day before John McCain was to give his acceptance speech in St. Paul, Minn., the Obama people called. I was to meet the Senator in Pennsylvania the next morning. Be there or be square. The timing was obvious: disrupt the Republican flow. Give Senator Obama a high-profile TV slot just before McCain's big speech. Because I knew I would most

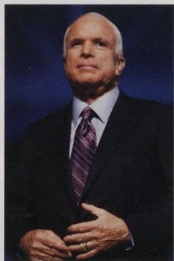
likely not get a second chance to talk to Obama, we hopped on a chartered plane and flew to the Keystone State.

Senator Obama himself was commanding but cautious as he entered the interview room. He knew the talk would be a challenge. He did well, and millions of people saw a spirited back-and-forth.

Whenever a politician is straight with me, I gain a

measure of respect for that person. Obama answered my questions, and we both let the chips fall. His campaign was using me, and my program was using him for high ratings. But our conversation is still being talked about. So we both won.

O'Reilly is host of The O'Reilly Factor and The Radio Factor; his latest book is the best seller A Bold Fresh Piece of Humanity



Wisdom from the Right

By Laura Ingraham

OUR COUNTRY IS ON THE VERGE OF ELECTING THE MOST inexperienced, left-wing politician ever to make a serious run for the presidency. Yet were it not for talk radio and the conservative blogosphere, the American people would have learned little to nothing about certain aspects of Barack Obama's life and political outlook. Old media—network news, most major newspapers and magazines—didn't even bother trying to maintain a pretense of objectivity. They seemed to exist solely to deflect and dismiss criticism of Obama and demonize those who dared to question (enter: Joe the Plumber). Who needs the DNC when you have NBC? Among the Obama stories either not adequately covered or not covered at all: his relationship with Bill Ayers, an unapologetic domestic terrorist; his 20-year friendship with preacher Jeremiah Wright; his view that the Constitution reflects a "fundamental flaw" of America; and his stance as a state senator against a bill that

would have provided medical care to infants born alive after an attempted abortion. (He referred to such babies as "previable" fetuses that were "temporarily alive.") More than ever, talk radio and its friends in the blogosphere are essential to the preservation of an informed democracy. No wonder some powerful figures on the left want to bring back the so-called Fairness Doctrine!

Ingraham is host of the nationally syndicated talk show The Laura Ingraham Show. Her most recent book is Power to the People

The Unexpected Disappointment

By David J. Garrow

ONE OUGHT TO FEEL GREAT JOY AS WE STAND ON THE CUSP OF ELECTING A YOUNG LIBERAL Democrat as the first African-American President. But instead, my mood is one of deep disappointment, both with two nominees who've failed to live up to their own prior reputations and with increasingly politicized national news media that have wallowed in what's trite and vacuous rather than featuring policy substance or biographical insight. For two decades, John McCain represented the promise of a Republican Party standing for honest pragmatism rather than destructive ideological rigidity. But this year McCain has run an embarrassingly bad general-election campaign that's insisted America's most pressing issue is Barack Obama's passing acquaintance with Bill Ayers, an aging Chicago radical. Prior to 2008, the brightest gemstone in Obama's political résumé was his championing of campaign reforms that would reduce the insidious role of private money in American politics. But this year Obama threw that commitment under the bus with an alacrity that should have alarmed everyone who thinks they know what policies he'll pursue as President. The news media have highlighted McCain's shortcomings far more aggressively than they've examined what's evanescent rather than enduring about Obama, but disappointment all around is the unexpected mood I'll remember from this campaign.

Garrow, a senior research fellow at Homerton College, University of Cambridge, is the author of Bearing the Cross, a Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of Martin Luther King Jr.

A Democratic Awakening

By Thomas Frank

WHAT WE'LL REMEMBER about 2008 is that it was the year the backlash finally broke. For decades, American conservatism has presented itself as a class-based rebellion against a condescending "liberal elite." The argument has laid liberals low from George McGovern to John Kerry; it has sent the mainstream media scurrying in terror; it has fueled fights over such unlikely subjects as the theory of evolution; and it furnished the political cover for the most elitist economic policies since the 1920s. For years Democrats had been incapable of responding in kind. But the enormous economic unpleasantness of 2008 forced them back onto their own, almost forgotten working-class instincts. In response, conservatives escalated the assault on the "liberal elite." John McCain chose as his running mate a woman whose main selling point was her acute sense of cultural victimhood. His campaign marched a platoon of propaganda figures across the stage, like the cartoonishly named Joe the Plumber, to affirm the working man's love for the policies that were killing him. It was grotesque, and soon it will be over. Hopefully, for good.

Frank, journalist and author of The Wrecking Crew, writes about American culture and politics

The 24-Minute News Cycle

Feeling agitated this election? You're not the only one. With ever more forums for snark, stats and scandal, campaign 2008 was covered exhaustively and exhaustingly. Here's who did it best

BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK

IF YOU'RE LIKE ME—AND I HOPE FOR your sake that you're not—you have been spending the past weeks visiting election-news sites and hitting the Refresh button on your Web browser. New Fox News poll out this afternoon! No? Let's go to *Gawker* and see what Elisabeth Hasselbeck said about Barack Obama on *The View* today! Are those poll numbers up at *Politico*? *Drudge*? *Huffington Post*? No? Refresh!

After a while, that little icon becomes less an option than a command. *Refresh! Refresh! Refresh!* You hit the button, take a big info swig and are left thirstier than you were before. It's the pause that doesn't refresh and the refresh that never pauses.

And it no longer matters if you're not obsessed with politics. Because even if you take in only the occasional newspaper, newscast or episode of *Saturday Night Live*, the coverage you see is driven by the fixations and miniscandals whipped up in the unsleeping election media. With cable and now online outlets that can make anything news at any time, the media formerly known as mainstream are dealing with news that can go through several rounds of attack and counter-

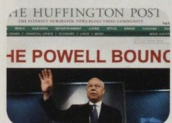
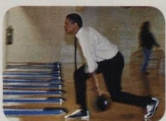
attack between the morning paper and the evening news. The 24-hour news cycle that media critics used to bemoan seems as quaint and leisurely as a taffy pull. We're now living in a 24-minute news cycle.

If you follow campaign news, you'll see this cycle in action several times a day, with stories sprouting, blooming and dying like flowers in time-lapse photography. *Breaking*: McCain campaign worker assaulted! Has partisan anger gone too far? Let's ask the campaigns! Is media coverage of anger biased? Let's ask ourselves! Wait—story was a hoax! Never mind! Next!

Take a few hundred of these eruptions and lay them end to end, and you have the 2008 campaign. As politics has expanded to more platforms—blogs, YouTube, comedy shows—the old press has followed, raising its metabolism and sharpening its tone to compete. And following it all has been by turns thrilling and exhausting.

The Speed of Sound Bite

THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE SOUPED-UP cycle has rendered the election trivial. In a way, just the opposite. This election and its stakes are so significant that people's appetites are insatiable. They want their



voices heard, their issues resolved, their lives bettered. Really, they want the election to be over and to know who is going to win. The media can't give them that, so instead they help people kill time by keeping ire and anxiety stoked.

One source of tension is that the media run so fast while politics moves so slow. By February, political observers doing the math saw where the Democratic primary was going—but it would take three months to get there. So the media revved their engines like a car in neutral: *Sexism Racism Wright Billary Bitter Bowling Bosnia!* While Hillary Clinton and Obama won their expected states with the precision of a German train schedule, the 24-minute news cycle played each victory as: Comeback! Counter-comeback! Counter-counter-comeback!

The cycle got its most vigorous workout during the whirlwind introduction of Sarah Palin. John McCain's Veep passed from surprise (who is this woman?) to novelty (beauty queen who shoots moose) to scandal (her daughter's pregnant) to obituary (will McCain drop her?) to resurrection (she's a pit bull with lipstick) to skepticism (but can she appeal beyond the base?) at the speed of a snowmobile.

The Palin story—in particular, her daughter Bristol Palin's pregnancy—showed just how interdependent the mainstream and nonmainstream media have become. The Palin camp revealed the news after blogs published rumors that Palin had faked her own recent pregnancy to cover up an earlier one of her daughter's. Mainstream outlets left these rumors alone until the Palins' disclosure, but once the story was out, the perception was that "the media" had hounded the family into opening their personal lives.

What the story really revealed is an ecology that Mickey Kaus of *Slate* calls the "undernews": stories, true and false, that percolate in the blogs or tabloids until the "respectable" press is forced to soil its white gloves, just as what happened with the John Edwards love-child story. (Wow, how long ago was that? The 1980s?)

The nontraditional media have also controlled the tone of the debate. The blogosphere joined talk radio as a driver of issues and stories. McCain faced some of his toughest interviews of the campaign on David Letterman and *The View*. And while Katie Couric grilled Palin on CBS, it was Tina Fey's impression that seared the moment into the national consciousness. (Palin impersonations were also among the hottest genres on YouTube.) *The Daily Show* was, as in 2000 and 2004, the election's dominant running commentary.

The traditional press, then, had more

The Other Race. Who's up and down in media buzz



Rachel Maddow
MSNBC's new
lefty host is brainy
and—gasp!—nice



Katie Couric
Post-Palin, her
cred is up (if not
her ratings)



Nate Silver
FiveThirtyEight
.com's guru made
math exciting



Tina Fey
Did her SNL
impression define
Palin? You betcha



Keith Olbermann
Serial ranter
loses election-
anchor spot



Charles Gibson
Couric's Palin
eclipsed his; ABC
shut out of debates



The Debates
Rigid formats
kept the passion
from politics



Fred Armisen
After a year, his
Obama is still in
need of change

Hits, Clicks and the Hoff

AT THE SAME TIME, THE ELECTION AND technology bred another, kinder-and-dorkier group of stars: the geekocracy. CNN's John King broke down election returns and poll figures on a touchscreen "magic wall," while NBC guru Chuck Todd crunched numbers on what resembled an electronic Risk board. Meanwhile, a raft of bloggers used the Web's strength—indulging obsessiveness—to create temples of poll analysis. Chief among them was Nate Silver, a baseball-statistics nut at whose *FiveThirtyEight.com* habitués debate weighting averages and tracking-poll internals until the wee hours.

The audience was awash in data, if not necessarily in knowledge. Maybe the most addictive expression of electoporn was the Election Simulator at *270toWin.com*, where you could press a button and get an electoral map based on probabilities from the latest polls, over and over again, different each time. Click, click, red, blue, red, blue! Like so much prognostication out there, it's less news than a video game.

The campaigns, meanwhile, also learned to use new media to keep the news monster appeased. Web ads were the Molotov cocktails of campaign 2008: quick, cheap and explosive—the more outrageous, the more likely to get embedded on blogs and played for free on the news. One zany McCain ad, made around Obama's summer trip to Europe, likened Obama to actor (and pop star in Germany) David Hasselhoff. Attention-getting? Definitely. Comprehensible? Does it matter?

McCain in many ways ran a campaign more in sync than Obama's with the 24-minute cycle. The media wanted drama, and he gave it to them. Here's a surprise V.P.! Here's a new message! My campaign's off! It's back on! Obama, for all his campaign's use of social networking, online fund-raising and e-mail-rumor debunking, ran a comparatively sedate media campaign.

We don't know yet which strategy worked. But the pundits who have analyzed the candidates' styles may be missing something. McCain has promised a "steady hand on the tiller"; Obama, a cool head in a crisis. I suspect that part of what the country wants after more than a year of rabid electotainment is a firm hand on the volume dial—a calming response not just to the economy or to partisanship but also to the incessant shrieking, browbeating, Chicken Littling of the media. They want someone to push not Refresh but Pause.

That seems clear to me now, anyway. But ask me again in 24 minutes. ■

competition for scoops, influence and audience as the election became the biggest pop-culture event of the year. So the news media—all chasing the same ad dollars in a bad economy—learned the value of putting on a show. Formerly straitlaced outlets gave themselves an attitude makeover to keep up with the blogs and Comedy Central. CNN hired comic D.L. Hughley to do a late-night show, and even the stodgy Associated Press started injecting bloggy potshots and analysis into its wire stories. If you didn't snark, you didn't exist.

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A Gay Mafia

They are called the Cabinet. Meet the seven wealthy, gay political donors who are quietly pouring money into races all over the country—and redefining liberal politics in the process

BY JOHN CLOUD/BEVERLY HILLS

A FEW WEEKS BEFORE VIRGINIA's legislative elections in 2005, a researcher working on behalf of a clandestine group of wealthy, gay political donors telephoned a Virginia legislator named Adam Ebbin. Then, as now, Ebbin was the only openly gay member of the state's general assembly. The researcher wanted Ebbin's advice on how the men he represented could spend their considerable funds to help defeat anti-gay Virginia politicians.

Ebbin, a Democrat who is now 44, was happy to oblige. (Full disclosure: in the mid-'90s, Ebbin and I knew each other briefly as colleagues; he sold ads for *Washington City Paper*, a weekly where I was a reporter.) Using Ebbin's expertise, the gay donors—none of whom live in Virginia—began contributing to certain candidates in the state. There were five benefactors: David Bohnett of Beverly Hills, Calif., who in 1999 sold the company he had co-founded, GeoCities, to Yahoo! in a deal worth \$5 billion on the day it was announced; Timothy Gill of Denver, another tech multimillionaire; James Hormel of San Francisco, grandson of George, who founded the famous meat company; Jon Stryker of Kalamazoo, Mich., the billionaire grandson of the founder of medical-technology giant Stryker Corp.; and Henry van Ameringen, whose father Arnold Louis van Ameringen started a Manhattan-based import company that later became the mammoth International Flavors & Fragrances.

The five men spent \$138,000 in Virginia that autumn, according to state records compiled by the nonprofit Virginia Public Access Project. Of that, \$48,000 went directly to the candidates Ebbin recommended. Ebbin got \$45,000 for his PAC, the Virginia Progress Fund, so he could give to the candidates himself. Another \$45,000 went to Equality Virginia, a gay-rights group that was putting money into many of the same races.

On Election Day that year, the Virginia legislature stayed solidly in Republican hands; the Democratic Party netted just one seat. But that larger outcome masked an intriguing development: anti-gay conservatives had suffered considerably. For instance, in northern Virginia, a Democrat named Charles Caputo (who received \$6,500 from Ebbin's PAC) had beaten a

Christian youth minister, Chris Craddock, by an unexpectedly large margin, with a vote of 56% to 41%. Three other candidates critical of gays were also defeated, including delegate Richard Black, who had long opposed gay equality in Richmond. Black had had no single donation as large as the \$20,000 that Ebbin's PAC gave his opponent. "This was my ninth election campaign, and it wasn't unusual to have homosexuals involved," says Black, who now practices law. "But it was different, certainly, in degree. There had not been a concerted influx of money from homosexuals as a group before."

The group that donated the money to use against Black and the others is known as the Cabinet, although you won't find that name on a letterhead or even on the Internet. Aside from Bohnett, 52; Gill, 55; Hormel, 75; Stryker, 50; and Van Ameringen, 78, the other members of the Cabinet are Jonathan Lewis (49-year-old grandson of Joseph, co-founder of Progressive Insurance) and Linda Ketner, 58, heiress to the Food Lion fortune, who is running for Congress against GOP Representative Henry Brown Jr. of South Carolina.

Ketner's is something of a long-shot bid—her district has been reliably Republican for years—but recently *Congressional Quarterly* described her "suddenly strong run" against Brown as "the biggest surprise" in this year's House races. Ketner, who was invited to join the all-male Cabinet as a way of diversifying it, declined to discuss her role in the group.

\$27 MILLION

Conservative estimate of the amount that Cabinet members spend each year on gay causes

\$6.4 MILLION

Amount that a single Cabinet member gave to campaigns in 2006

3

Number of governors who have met with Cabinet members or their aides

7

Members of the Cabinet, the most powerful force in gay politics



Super Friends. Some of the men—and one woman—driving gay politics



DAVID BOHNETT His firm Beverly Hills Internet became GeoCities. Bohnett is a major contributor in California races



JONATHAN LEWIS Heir to an insurance fortune, he funds many projects for gay youth. He and his father Peter are key Democratic donors



TIM GILL The Cabinet's creator, Gill came to believe during the '90s that established gay groups were spending too much for too little gain



JAMES HORMEL In 1999 he was named ambassador to Luxembourg. In the '70s, Hormel was one of the few wealthy gays who gave to gay causes



LINDA KETNER

Her father Ralph Ketner founded the Food Lion grocery chain. She ran two of South Carolina's gay groups before deciding to run for Congress this fall. So far she has outspent her GOP foe

Among gay activists, the Cabinet is revered as a kind of secret gay Super Friends, a homosexual justice league that can quietly swoop in wherever anti-gay candidates are threatening and finance victories for the good guys. Rumors abound in gay political circles about the group's recondite influence; some of the rumors are even true. For instance, the Cabinet met in California last year with two sitting governors, Brian Schweitzer of Montana and Kathleen Sebelius of Kansas, both Democrats; political advisers who work for the Cabinet met with a third Democratic governor, Wisconsin's Jim Doyle. The Cabinet has also funded a secretive organization called the Movement Advancement Project (MAP), which a veteran lesbian activist describes as the "Gay IRS." MAP keeps tabs on the major gay organizations to make sure they are operating efficiently. The October 2008 MAP report notes, for example, that the National Gay & Lesbian Task Force fails to meet Better Business Bureau standards for limiting overhead expenses.

According to the online databases Opensecrets.org and Followthemoney.org, the seven members of the Cabinet have spent at least \$7.8 million on political races since the beginning of 2004, although their true level of giving is undoubtedly far higher, since Followthemoney.org—which is run by the nonpartisan National Institute on Money in State Politics—does not capture all contributions to PACs (for instance, the Cabinet money that went to Ebbin's PAC in 2005 doesn't show up on the website).

The Cabinet spends at least as much each election cycle as does the PAC run by the Human Rights Campaign, the world's largest gay political group. And yet the Cabinet has operated in stealth, without accountability from watchdogs. (The Cabinet does not subject itself to MAP analysis.)

Cabinet spending shows up in races all over the country where pro-gay candidates have a good shot. For instance, Bohnett, Gill and Van Ameringen have given \$143,000 this year to New York Democrats, who are within two seats of controlling the state senate. A Democratic New York legislature would likely approve equal marriage rights.

The Cabinet's Gill and Stryker have seen their money achieve remarkable results in their respective states, Colorado and Michigan. Stateline.org (a project of the Pew Charitable Trusts) reported that in 2006, Stryker gave "at least \$6.4 million to candidates or political committees in at least a dozen states, including Michigan, where he can boast that Democrats gained a majority in the state house for the first time in 12 years." Some Cabinet members also donated tens of thousands of dollars in certain Iowa and New Hampshire races in 2006, when Democrats regained control of both states' legislatures. Those states' Democratic majorities now ensure that, among other things, efforts to amend the Iowa and New Hampshire constitutions to ban same-sex marriage will fail.

And yet the Cabinet is noteworthy not only because its treasure begets political influence but also because its very

existence shows how dramatically the culture wars—and liberal politics as a whole—have changed in the past decade. Next summer gays will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Stonewall riots, the 1969 Manhattan demonstrations that began when cross-dressers angry about police raids at the Stonewall bar began throwing bottles and punches. Today, though, the street movement is basically defunct. And increasingly, the center of gay power is moving out from Washington toward the interior—toward powerful foundations like those run by Stryker in Kalamazoo and Gill in Denver. Since the beginning of 2001, Stryker's foundation, which is called Arcus and has offices in both the U.S. and the U.K., has given away \$67 million, about three-quarters to gays and about one-quarter to apes. (Stryker, who got a pet monkey as a gift when he was young, is a major donor to the conservation of ape habitats.)

The Cabinet is emblematic of a larger shift on the left since 2004 in the direction of big-money politics, a shift most clearly seen in Barack Obama's refusal of public financing for his campaign. The Cabinet is only one of several flush, members-only liberal groups that have formed since 2004, the most famous (and richest) being the Democracy Alliance, whose sponsors include billionaires George Soros, Peter Lewis (father of Cabinet member [Jonathan] and Pat Stryker (sister of Cabinet member [Jon]).

That raises questions: What does a civil rights movement look like in an era of massive wealth? Can you still inspire a

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: JEFFREY MANN; MICHAEL; CHRIS MCCORMACK; GUYTON PULL; AND STEVE DAVID PAUL WORTH; GIFT: JENNIFER LARSON; JEFFREY MANN

grass-roots movement when all the street troops know that the billionaires can just write bigger checks? And is it possible that the left has become a movement as coldly obsessed with money as it always assumed the right was?

GAYS MAY SEE THE CABINET AS POWERFUL, almost numinous, but its own members see themselves as largely unorganized and highly independent. "It's a group of people who like and respect each other and their opinions," Ray Mulliner, a longtime Hormel adviser, told me recently. "It's nothing more than like-minded donors getting together to share strategies." When I mentioned that similar organizations on the right had received press scrutiny—I was thinking of the Arlington Group, a coalition of movement conservatives—Mulliner angrily rejected the comparison: "You have no reason to be curious about this. You're going to write a piece that's going to start a fire that needs to get put out, and it's going to cost a lot of money to put it out," he said.

The Cabinet first came together three or four years ago, according to Van Ameringen, as a "meeting place" for donors who wanted to use their money with greater strategic acumen. Gill got the idea for the group after he and Lewis attended a Democracy Alliance meeting. The donors felt they could accomplish more for gays if they shared information rather than operate as "silo" givers. Some members were frustrated that the established gay movement in Washington hadn't made greater progress in a society rapidly coming to see

homosexuality as a mere variation rather than a moral degeneration.

Today it's difficult to find a gay organization that has not enjoyed the Cabinet's largesse. In 2007, for example, Stryker's Arcus Foundation gave away \$11.8 million as part of its Gay and Lesbian Program. The money reached both big-name groups like the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (which got half a million dollars) and little organizations like the Actors Theatre Co. of Grand Rapids, Mich., which got \$25,000 to produce a play called *Seven Passages: The Story of Gay Christians*.

The web of connections among the Cabinet members is complex. All the other members have donated the maximum amount allowed to Ketner's congressional campaign. Gill, Lewis and Stryker employ political advisers—respectively, Denver attorney Ted Trimpa; Paul Yandura, who worked in the Clinton White House's political-affairs office; and Lisa Turner, a former political director for the Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee—who regularly speak with one another and with others who work for Cabinet members.

There's nothing illegal about the Cabinet's coordination of its members' giving, according to Lawrence Noble, campaign-finance expert with the Washington-based firm Skadden, Arps. The contributions would be illegal only if the members agreed to give up control of their donations entirely or coordinated them directly with a campaign. There's no evidence of either; several people associated with the Cabinet made clear that its members make their

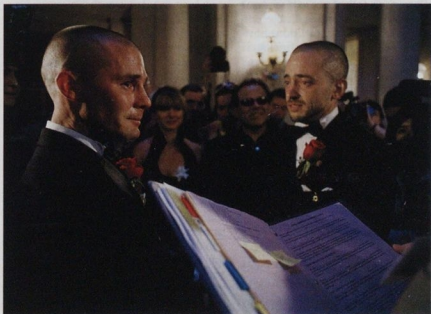
donations without anyone's review. And yet as the *National Review's* Byron York has pointed out, Americans were horrified to learn during Watergate that Richard Nixon's friend Clement Stone had donated an outrageous \$2 million in cash to the President's campaign. Cabinet members have spent at least five times that amount in various races in the past four years; the Soros-backed Democracy Alliance has spent probably 50 times that amount.

Still, it's hard to argue that the left in general and gays in particular should sit on their hands while foes outspend them. Strategically, the Cabinet makes sense; most people who defend its secrecy offer a Machiavellian understanding of ends and means. "I could lose a lot of sleep about it, and I do wonder why they have abandoned [gay] organizations that have a 35-year track record in order to have their own operations," says a seasoned Washington gay activist. "But if that's the way the rules of the game are being played, I need to maneuver within what the realities are."

The larger question is what role wealthy groups like the Cabinet will have in reshaping the politics of the left. There's been a great deal of (largely self-congratulatory) talk among liberals about the progressive movement's success in using new technologies to harness the networks, to use the fashionable liberal argot. But there has been less reflection about what impact the great gobs of Sorosian money will have on the movement. Michael Fleming, a Los Angeles political maverick who advises Cabinet member Bohnett, worries that rank-and-file gay people—the ones who might have picked up a rock at Stonewall—are increasingly relying on billionaires to cut checks. "Where is the outrage?" he asks.

The answer is that outrage has given way to smugness, the kind of self-satisfaction conservatives displayed after electoral successes in 1980 and 1994. Groups like the Cabinet and the Democracy Alliance suggest a new kind of moneyed progressivism, one that shows little of the class discontent that animated earlier strains of leftist thought. Is this a sign of maturation—throwing off radical excesses—or capitulation, a surrendering to the idea that efforts to reduce the power of money in our democracy have failed? Probably a little of both.

For its part, the Cabinet seems poised to prod the gay movement into being sleeker, faster, more tactical. When the remaining veterans of Stonewall march down Fifth Avenue next summer, those shimmeringly romantic, slightly foolish days of 1969 will have never seemed so distant. ■



The right to wed The Cabinet has spent heavily in California, which votes on marriage Nov. 4

Is Housing Nearing the Floor?

Thanks to deeply discounted prices, sales are improving. But there are still plenty of homeowners waiting to be saved

BY BILL SAPORITO

THE LAST PIECE OF THE LAST RESIDENTIAL construction crane in Miami is coming down, and locals don't expect to see another one for a while. Developers threw up some 23,000 housing units along South Beach and its environs beginning in 2003, many of them bought by speculators who thought they could flip the properties for a quick profit. Then the music stopped. "Our best guesstimate—and we've talked to lenders and developers—is that you will not see a residential construction crane in the sky in downtown Miami for a generation," says Peter Zalewski, a real estate broker and founder of Condo Vultures, a realty-intelligence service. "Well, at least seven years," he says before modifying his forecast yet again. "Let's go with a decade," he finally concludes.

When it comes to the U.S. housing market, it's sensible to plan for the worst. The latest Case-Shiller Home Price Index for a 20-city composite showed that prices recorded a 1% drop in August and were down 17% for the past 12 months. Miami had a 2% monthly drop and a 28% tumble over the last year; in San Francisco it was -4%, and -27% for the year.

But the picture is brightening in pockets of the country, where there are nascent signs of a bottoming: the rate of decline slowed in August, according to Case-Shiller, and in September, existing home sales rose 6% nationally. That means buyers are finally being lured to the market by low prices. In Los Angeles, and even in

Miami, there is evidence that the housing market is lifting its head off the deck, even as foreclosures continue to pile up and prices edge downward. Some banks are grudgingly agreeing to short sales—that is, selling below the mortgage amount—and doing some workouts. For owners, buyers and policymakers, such signs of a recovery raise a big question: Will a recession that is gaining momentum break through housing's floor again? In other words, is this real estate's dead-cat bounce?

Oddly enough, talk of a possible federal mortgage bailout is slowing deals. "Recently, a lot of the financial institutions have stopped accepting short sales to find out if the government is going to buy their loans that are in default. They're waiting to see what happens with the recent rescue plan

to buy back mortgages," says Fred Arnold, president of the California Association of Mortgage Brokers. In Miami, banks can't wait to throw underwater mortgages into the government's pool. Says Zalewski, "I can see the Federal Government giving them a mulligan and allowing them to sort of do a do-over."

He can expect a do-over from the outgoing Administration, but not a paper-over that would rescue speculators. FDIC chief Sheila Bair has been pushing to use new loan-guarantee authority passed under the \$700 billion banking bailout to adjust troubled homeowner mortgages. The plan would provide \$50 billion from the government to be tapped as insurance for banks willing to adjust mortgages in a loss-sharing agreement. The FDIC would guarantee any losses on loans readjusted for homeowners who can show a 38% debt-to-income ratio, similar to what the FDIC worked out for the 60,000-odd bad loans it ate when it closed IndyMac bank.

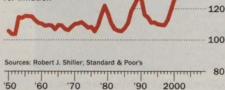
The idea is to save people whose loans are salvageable from being tossed out of their homes, thus preventing even more inventory from being dumped on the market. "We still think foreclosures are a major issue for borrowers, homeowners and the housing market generally," says a source familiar with Bair's negotiations with the Treasury Department. A deal of some sort is expected within weeks.

How much the next President would further change any plan isn't clear. Both

Still Room To Fall

The housing bubble has burst, but prices still aren't back to historical averages

Change in house prices since 1950, adjusted for inflation





John McCain and Barack Obama have promised aggressive, but as yet vague, action on housing. McCain's proposals are more radical: getting the government to buy a large swath of the bad mortgages at cost and replace them with FHA-guaranteed, fixed-rate ones. But that plan could be seen as having a dampening effect on any bottoming in the housing market. Why? If owners know they can dump their illiquid home loans cost-free on the government, they have little incentive to sell.

Obama has proposed slightly less market-skewing alternatives. He wants to create incentives for banks to buy or refinance existing mortgages. He supported the so-called cram-down rule that would allow judges to modify mortgages when homeowners file for bankruptcy, a measure that was axed from the Wall Street bailout package.

Whatever the government does, home sellers had better resign themselves to lower prices. Nationally, the inventory of unsold homes is still large. In the greater Miami area, there are 110,000 single-family homes, condos and town houses for sale. Some 55,000 new foreclosures were filed in the first nine months of this year, and an additional 19,000 properties were taken back by lenders. In California, the median price for houses has dropped 41% in a year, according to the California Association of Realtors. In the L.A. area, the outlying suburbs of San Bernardino and Riverside have been hardest hit because of the number of homes owned by more marginal borrowers.

San Bernardino, Calif. *This bank-owned house is in contract. Price cuts have improved sales, but the inventory remains high*

But even without government intervention, sales of distressed properties are up significantly. In and around Los Angeles, housing sales were up 83% in September over the prior year, with distressed properties notably contributing to the surge. "We're seeing a significant increase in sales activity over the past four or five months, but it is the moderate to low-end distressed properties—including foreclosures and short sales—that are showing really very significant increases," says Leslie Appleton-Young, chief economist for the California Association of Realtors.

Not all areas of the country are suffering equally. In Dallas, which never had a bubble, there has been no bust. Houses are selling on average in 81 days, below their 90-day historical average. Only the million-dollar homes are slow to move. In late September, Donald Trump stood atop his new, 92-story condo-hotel tower just

off Chicago's Michigan Avenue. "There's an economic disaster going on in the country," Trump dryly acknowledged. "A lot of things you think will be built in Chicago and elsewhere will never happen. But we got this one built, and we're proud of it."

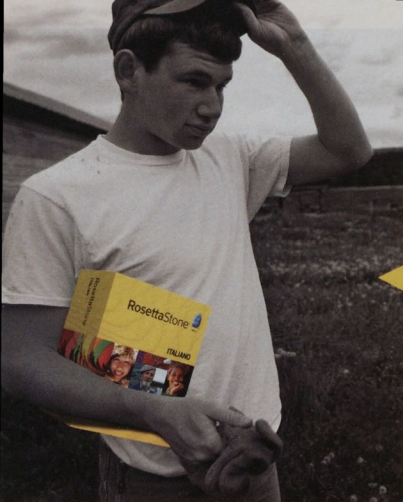
Getting it built and getting it sold are not the same thing. Many of the gleaming building's units remain unsold, and The Donald's lenders are looming. Roughly 75% of the 4,900 condominium units under construction in downtown Chicago are already sold. That's good, but next year the number of new units coming onto the market is expected to drop to 4,600, and only 60% are sold, according to Appraisal Research Counselors, a consulting firm that tracks downtown Chicago real estate.

Experts say some areas of downtown Chicago are most likely to recover first. But it is the areas that were just beginning to experience redevelopment, or any development, where recovery is likely to be the most drawn-out, if it happens at all.

There are too many moving parts in the economy now to say when things might hit bottom. But what is in place—realistic pricing, some banks willing to deal and maybe a mortgage bailout—should provide some friction against a big slip. That should allow home buyers to take some comfort—and sellers to make some cash.—WITH REPORTING BY MASSIMO CALABRESI/WASHINGTON, STEVEN GRAY/CHICAGO, BARBARA MADDEX/NEW YORK, SIOBHAN MORRISSEY/MIAMI AND ALISON STATEMAN/LOS ANGELES ■

'I can see the government giving [homeowners] a mulligan ... a do-over.'

—PETER ZALEWSKI,
FOUNDER, CONDO VULTURES



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Time to Pay the Price

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IN 2002 THE INIMITABLY AUDACIOUS editorial writers at the *Wall Street Journal* brought to the nation's attention the existence of a vast and allegedly pernicious class of "lucky duckies" who pay no federal income tax because their incomes are in sub-\$40,000 territory and they qualify for one or more of the many credits added to the tax code in recent decades.

Since then, thanks to tax changes proposed and signed into law by President Bush, this impoverished yet fortunate class has only grown—to 45.6 million households, or one-third of all income tax filers, according to the Tax Foundation, a right-leaning think tank with a reputation for getting its numbers right. If the various tax cuts and credits Barack Obama has proposed on the campaign trail are enacted, the group estimates, that figure will rise to 63 million, while John McCain's tax plans would bring the tally to 62 million. Either way, more than 40% of the population would stand to come out even or ahead on April 15.

What are we to make of this development? Some conservatives say it endangers the underpinnings of American democracy, echoing the 2002 *Journal* editorial: "Workers who pay little or no taxes can hardly be expected to care about tax relief for everybody else. They are also that much more detached from recognizing the costs of government." This argument is historically obtuse, considering that the federal income tax was initially designed to hit only a tiny minority of high earners and exempt the other 99% (it first became a mass tax during World War II). It's also misleading, in that lucky

duckies still get hit with payroll taxes for Social Security and Medicare, federal excise taxes, state and local sales taxes and so on.

But the growth in the ranks of those who pay no income tax does raise an important question that both Obama and McCain failed to fully answer during the current campaign: How the heck are we going to finance our government? The question has been looming for a while



because of the chronic deficits of the Bush years and the soon-to-escalate demands on Social Security and Medicare. It has gained urgency lately, with Washington committing vast sums to fighting financial panic and with more deficit-financed emergency aid surely on the way.

Obama's partial answer is that he will raise taxes on those making more than \$200,000 a year (\$250,000 for two-earner households) by returning their tax rates to the levels that prevailed before 2001. McCain's partial answer is that he will cut government spending. But both are also pledging big tax cuts. The Tax Policy Center, a joint venture of the left-leaning Urban Institute and Brookings Institution that also has a reputation for getting its numbers right, estimates that Obama's tax proposals would increase the deficit by up to \$3.5 trillion over the next decade,

while McCain's would increase it by up to \$8.6 trillion. That doesn't count possible spending cuts, but even McCain's proposed "freeze" wouldn't come anywhere near to closing that hole.

The upshot is that you can probably throw out the window most of the tax proposals Obama and McCain have been talking about on the campaign trail. The demands on government are growing, and investors around the world won't finance huge U.S. deficits forever. Four or eight years down the road, the likeliest scenario is that the overall tax burden will be higher, not lower.

So who will pay those taxes? Obama's plan to target the highest earners has merit, given that almost all income gains in recent years have gone to the top 1%. But because the rich can afford good tax lawyers, there are diminishing returns to increasing their tax rates. Returning to the pre-2001 top rate of 39.6% (from 35% now) would surely bring in more money, but going much higher might not. Also, the bulk of the recent gains at the top of the income spectrum has come

from huge paychecks in the financial sector—paychecks that are almost sure to shrink in coming years.

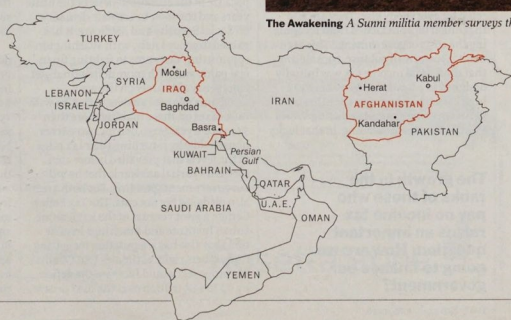
That brings us back to the lucky duckies. Trouble is, they're an even less promising target. The share of pretax income going to the bottom 40% of households dropped from 20% in 1980 to 15.9% in 2005, according to the Congressional Budget Office, and that decline has been counteracted only modestly by tax credits. There's simply not enough money there to close any budget gaps.

So where is the dough going to come from? In 2007, 56% of pretax income went to households making between \$70,000 and \$250,000 a year, estimates the Census Bureau. That's the upper middle class, broadly defined. If we need more money to keep the country running, here's betting that is where it's going to be found. ■

The growth in the ranks of those who pay no income tax raises an important question: How are we going to finance our government?

A Tale Of Two Wars

Whoever wins on Nov. 4 will, inevitably, be a wartime President. In the streets of Iraq and in foxholes in Afghanistan, U.S. troops continue to fight a two-front engagement on perilous terrain, against a constantly shifting array of adversaries. John McCain supported the war in Iraq and was a leading advocate of the surge there; Barack Obama opposed the intervention and calls for pulling out roughly half of all U.S. troops by the middle of 2010. But whether that happens will depend largely on the performance of the Iraqi government. And the possibilities for a reduction in U.S. troops in Iraq must be balanced against the likely need to send more to Afghanistan, where the situation now looks somewhere between difficult and dire. Here are two on-the-ground assessments of the wars that await the next President:



The Awakening A Sunni militia member surveys the





landscape outside Fallujah. The U.S.'s embrace of Sunni tribes has helped chase out al-Qaeda, but Iraq's sectarian tensions still simmer

Iraq. Reduced violence has paved the way for a U.S. pullback. But the battles for power—and for the country's future—are still being fought

BY ANDREW LEE BUTTERS/BAGHDAD

PERHAPS NO PLACE BETTER SYMBOLIZES the stranger-than-fiction quality of the U.S. project in Iraq than the Republican Palace. The sprawling sandstone complex on the Tigris River was a monument to Saddam Hussein's regime. Then in 2003 it became the center of American power there—first of direct military rule, and following that, as headquarters of the U.S. embassy. Though U.S. officials removed some of the more egregious reminders of Saddam—like massive stone carvings of the dictator's head—the palace's marble floors and soaring ballrooms still make an incongruously imperial backdrop for the civilians and soldiers working to bring democracy to Iraq.

But the imperial phase of America's involvement in Iraq is ending. Probably by the end of the year, the U.S. will return the palace to the Iraqi government, and embassy staff will move into a new complex just down the river. The U.S. will still have a heavy footprint in Iraq—the embassy is the largest in the world and cost about \$750 million to build. But the departure from the Republican Palace is part of a larger transfer of authority. So far, the U.S.-led coalition has turned over security responsibilities to Iraqi forces in 13 out of 18 provinces. And the Bush Administration is trying to seal a deal with the Iraqi government that, Washington hopes, would enable the U.S. to pull America's 152,000 troops out of Iraq's cities and towns by July of next year and out of the country entirely by 2012.

This transfer of responsibility would be unimaginable had it not been for the success of the surge of U.S. troops in Iraq, the deployment of U.S.-trained Iraqi security forces and the uprising of armed Iraqi civilian groups—the so-called Awakening—against jihadist insurgents and sectarian militias. Violence in Baghdad is down 90% from its height in 2006 and down 80% in the country as a whole, according to Rear Admiral Patrick Driscoll, the U.S. military spokesman in Baghdad. "In 2006, Iraq was a failed state, and in 2008 Iraq is a fragile state," he says. But the surge is now over. Most of the extra 30,000 American soldiers have gone home, and another 8,000 will leave by the end of January.

No matter who wins the presidential election, the drawdown of U.S. power in Iraq will continue. The U.N. mandate that legalized America's occupation is running out at the end of this year, and the Iraqi government, created by a democratic process that the U.S. put in place, is eager to take over the reins from what most of its

'Iraq is well on its way to becoming a normal Middle Eastern country, with all the good and the bad that that implies.'

—JOHN NAGL, COUNTERINSURGENCY EXPERT AND RETIRED ARMY OFFICER

citizens view as a foreign occupation. It is the orderliness of that transfer of power that will most challenge the new President. And he will be only partly master of his destiny. The fate of the U.S. mission—to make Iraq a stable, democratic country that is an asset rather than a liability in the war on terrorism—is increasingly out of American hands. The U.S. now needs to buy time for the Iraqi state to take control of its own problems—on security, corruption and sectarianism—before they become overwhelming once again. "This is what Iraqis say they want," says a senior U.S. diplomat. "As Iraq gradually takes control over its affairs, you are going to see less American influence. The question is, Will [the transition] be orderly and deliberate... or does it become unduly hastened?"

TO A LARGE EXTENT, HOW AND WHEN America leaves Iraq will depend on Iraq's elected leaders. Iraq's national parliament is a monument to the success of the U.S.'s nation-building efforts. It's rare for a correspondent in the region to have an opportunity to meet so many politicians of such opposing views so quickly and so amicably, drinking tea and eating sesame cookies from the same canteen. Good luck doing that in Syria. But there's a reason Iraq's politicians are easy for a reporter to

meet: most of them rarely leave the security bubble of the fortified International Zone, the miniature government city-state within Baghdad. The parliament is much harder to reach if you are an average Iraqi trying to get through many security checkpoints. And such is the fear Iraqi politicians have of their countrymen that there are no Arab Iraqi state forces inside the International Zone. The only Iraqis are Kurdish *peshmerga* forces, which are considered more difficult for insurgents to infiltrate. The rest are either U.S. soldiers or foreign civilian security contractors.

Moreover, start asking questions of Iraq's politicians, and the veneer of national unity wears thin. The new electoral system created ethnic and sectarian political blocs that are pulling the country apart. Most of the Arab political parties, for example, suspect that the Kurds are preparing to expel Arabs from contested areas in Mosul and Kirkuk.

The next U.S. President will discover, however, that one thing unites most of Iraq's politicians. Awkwardly, that is opposition to the Status of Forces Agreement (sofa), the understanding that would formalize and legalize the continued presence of U.S. forces on Iraqi soil. In late October, when the Bush Administration leaked a draft of sofa that it had worked out with Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's government, his Cabinet demanded a renegotiation. No particular provision seems to be objectionable so much as the agreement itself: it is practically political suicide for an Iraqi politician to be seen authorizing the U.S. occupation. So now the U.S. is stuck in a game of chicken with the Iraqi government. "We are telling them they are not going to get a better deal," says the senior American diplomat. "I don't think the situation is ready [for us] to walk out



On patrol A U.S. soldier in southern Baghdad. Increasingly, responsibility for basic security is being turned over to Iraq's army and police

the door and leave the Iraqis on their own. But if that's what the Iraqis want, we have no choice."

HOWEVER LONG U.S. SOLDIERS STAY IN Iraq, they will largely be out of the war-fighting game, focusing mainly on training the Iraqi army. Will that be enough to prevent Iraq from slipping back into sectarian civil war? Cautious optimists hope so. "Iraq is well on its way to becoming a normal Middle Eastern country, with all the good and the bad that that implies," says John Nagl, a retired Army officer who helped General David Petraeus draft the Army's new counterinsurgency manual. "As long as Iraq stays Page 26 news, that's O.K." But if anything goes wrong, it's going to be tough to handle. "We put ourselves in the position of fighting two wars simultaneously, and that's leading to competing demands for scarce resources," says Nagl.

Both the success of the surge and the challenges awaiting Iraq are visible in Dora, a neighborhood in southern Baghdad that was the scene of some of the worst urban violence during Iraq's dark days. When Lieut. Colonel Ali Abbas Hamad, deputy commander of an Iraqi police brigade, first deployed in Dora in the summer of 2007, most of the neighborhood's Christians had been driven from their homes by jihadis and militias, and the residents that remained didn't dare leave their homes. "There wasn't a car in sight," Hamad told TIME. "The only person I saw fired an RPG [rocket-propelled grenade] at me." With the help of U.S. soldiers, the police began taking back the streets and now patrol them on their own. Stores are open, and a church is once again celebrating Mass. But Hamad said he never could have done the job without the help of a local Awakening group that the government is disbanding, concerned that the loyalties of its members are uncertain. Hamad thinks this is a mistake. "Some of these people helped al-Qaeda [only] because they needed the funds," he said. "All they have known for four years is war. If the government doesn't treat them with respect and help give them jobs, they will go back to war."

It is a familiar tale. What Dora wants and needs most is reliable electricity and water. Yet Hamad says not a single government official has shown up in Dora while he has worked here. "Our officials only care about themselves," he said, in the sort of resigned phrase that should depress any U.S. leader. "They are only in power for four years so they make as much money as they can and then plan to flee the country. What we need is a dictator."

If one comes, there's a palace waiting for him. —WITH REPORTING BY MARK KUKIS AND MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON

Afghanistan. Corruption, drugs and a weak central government have the country in a 'downward spiral.' Is talking to the Taliban the answer?

BY ARYN BAKER/KABUL

SABOOR ISN'T TAKING ANY CHANCES. The bus conductor, 30, prepares for his twice-weekly Kabul-to-Kandahar trips by exchanging his city outfit for the filthy tunic and voluminous trousers of a poor mechanic, the better to fool potential robbers. He rubs grease and dirt on his face to conceal from possible Taliban attackers that he is clean-shaven. These precautions, Saboor says, have saved his life. Just the other day, a gang of thieves robbed his passengers at gunpoint. Two weeks ago, Taliban insurgents pulled some 50 passengers off a bus and slaughtered 27 men they falsely claimed were Afghan soldiers.

Seven years after the war to topple the Taliban regime, Afghans are starting to wonder if anything has been achieved. The highway between Kabul and Kandahar was supposed to be a success story. Completed in 2003, it has instead become a symbol of all that plagues Afghanistan: insecurity,

corruption and the radical Islamic insurgency that feeds off both. If Afghanistan is ever to fulfill the promise that beckoned when the U.S. first went to war there, those trends will have to be reversed.

That won't be easy. Monthly casualty figures for U.S. service members in Afghanistan now rival those in Iraq—though there are about a quarter the number of troops there. Insurgent groups have spread to previously peaceful regions. "We are not exactly in a stalemate, but we are still marching uphill," says a NATO military commander in Kabul. He compares Afghanistan today with "about where we were in Iraq in 2004 to 2005"—which is just before it started to get really bad.

The U.S. intelligence community seems to share that assessment. While still a "work in progress," the National Intelligence Estimate on Afghanistan, due out after the U.S. elections, portrays a country



Afghan agony Mourners gather at a funeral for suicide-bombing victims in Kabul

on a "downward spiral," says a Pentagon official who was briefed about the report. The key reasons: a revitalized Taliban, inadequate U.S. and NATO forces, the funds generated for the Taliban by narcotics, and a government so consumed by corruption and inefficiency that it cannot offer a reasonable alternative to the insurgents.

There has been progress, of course. More Afghan children are in school today than at any other time in the nation's history, and the private sector is growing. But such good news is easily undermined by the increasing insecurity and Afghanistan's rampant corruption. Ashraf Ghani, a former Finance Minister, says his nation has reached a fork in the road. "It is not inevitable that we go to that downward spiral," he says. "If we take the right road, we can get to the destination of a stable and eventually prosperous Afghanistan."

SO WHAT IS TO BE DONE? FOR MOST Afghans, the right road starts with better security. Eating pomegranates in a tea shop in Sarobi district, just east of Kabul, Saeed Shah says he was not fond of the Taliban when it was in power. But his once peaceful district has witnessed a wave of criminality and violence—10 French soldiers were slaughtered by insurgents in August—that has him longing for the old regime and its harsh but effective justice. "Yes, there was hardship, but there was also peace," he says. "You could leave your shop open all night, and no one would steal a thing." In the south and east, where the insurgency is at its strongest, there are simply not enough troops. Soldiers can clear ground, but when they return to their barracks at night, insurgents terrorize the locals for assisting the foreign and government forces. If Afghans fear that they will be killed for cooperating with the government, they won't do it. "We've got to provide enough security so that the people can feel that they have a future that has some stability and peace to it," says Admiral Mike Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The most obvious solution—an Iraq-style surge—is unlikely to succeed. President Bush has promised to begin sending 8,000 more troops before he leaves office, and both presidential candidates have pledged at least an additional two brigades. But any troops are unlikely to arrive fast enough or in sufficient numbers. Afghanistan is a third larger than Iraq in size, and its terrain is a lot more difficult. Counterinsurgency expert John Nagl has estimated that there should be 600,000 troops—including Afghan ones—inside the country to quell the Taliban and al-Qaeda threat. Currently there are only about 65,000 coalition forces (including 33,000 U.S. troops) on the ground,



Searching for the enemy U.S. Marines from the 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit question ethnic Pashtuns in a village in Afghanistan.

'We've got to provide enough security so that the people can feel that they have a future that has some stability and peace.'

—ADMIRAL MIKE MULLEN



farmers in the Garmsir district of Helmand province, a hotbed of insurgent activity

in addition to some 70,000 Afghan army personnel—of whom fewer than half can fully function on their own—plus an ineffective police force. Iraq, by contrast, has some 160,000 coalition troops and a nearly 600,000-strong professional national-security force. If there is to be a surge at all, it will most likely be an Afghan one. The U.S. has pledged \$20 billion to nearly double the Afghan army's strength by 2012, but it is still short more than half the necessary military trainers to do the job. "The sheer business of training the army, equipping them, deploying them and creating the infrastructure takes time," says the NATO commander. "And the only way

to buy time is to bring in more alliance or coalition troops."

But most NATO nations either can't or won't send more troops, and the U.S. armed forces are spread thin between two wars. So the next U.S. Administration may perforce have to abandon the big stick in favor of speaking more softly. Army General David McKiernan, the top U.S. commander in Afghanistan, has made it clear that there is no purely military solution. "It's not just a question about more soldiers," he has said. "It's a question about more governance, about more economic aid, about more political assistance for the government of Afghanistan."

All that, and regional politics too. No possible solution in Afghanistan can ignore the dire state of Pakistan. The two countries share a 1,640-mile (2,640 km) border that is impossible to seal. Pakistan's ungoverned tribal areas have become a sanctuary not only for the Taliban militants fighting NATO forces in Afghanistan but also for a new base for al-Qaeda. Islamabad says it wants to help. "Pakistan is now ready to take full responsibility for its side of the border and work cooperatively with the Afghan and NATO forces to make sure that that border area is not a source for attacks in Pakistan, Afghanistan or around the world," says Pakistan's ambassador to Washington, Husain Haqqani. But commanders in Afghanistan privately say they are still skeptical about Pakistan's intentions and dismayed by its evident lack of a coherent strategy to fight the militants.

CAN THE U.S., NATO AND THE KABUL government alone sort out Afghanistan? General David Petraeus, now head of U.S. Central Command, does not think so. A key element of Petraeus' strategy is likely to involve exploring the chances of reconciliation with more moderate members of the Taliban. Afghan President Hamid Karzai seems to be moving in the same direction; last month he appealed to Taliban leader Mullah Omar for peace and offered to talk. But negotiations will be impossible unless the Taliban renounces all ties to al-Qaeda, its key financial supporter.

Still, Petraeus has one thing going for him. The bulk of Taliban fighters are disaffected Pashtun tribesmen who have lost their traditional power bases and are disillusioned with Kabul. It is these men Petraeus plans to bring to the government's side, but first they have to be convinced that they have a government worth fighting for. That's hardly an easy task, for the chronic corruption and ineffectiveness of the Karzai administration have become a festering ulcer on the whole Afghan experiment. "Corruption is the greatest source of instability in this country," says Ghani, who, while conceding that military force is essential for maintaining stability, calls for a political surge too. "Two hundred judges in the country will do the work of five divisions," he says. "A thousand bureaucrats committed to integrity will do the work of 10 more."

In his own way, Shah, in the tea shop, agrees. "The Taliban gave us a dictatorship of fear," he says. "Karzai has given us a dictatorship of bribes. What we want now is a dictatorship of law." The next U.S. Administration could do worse than focus on how to help bring that about. —WITH REPORTING BY ALI SAFI/KABUL AND MARK KUKIS AND MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON ■



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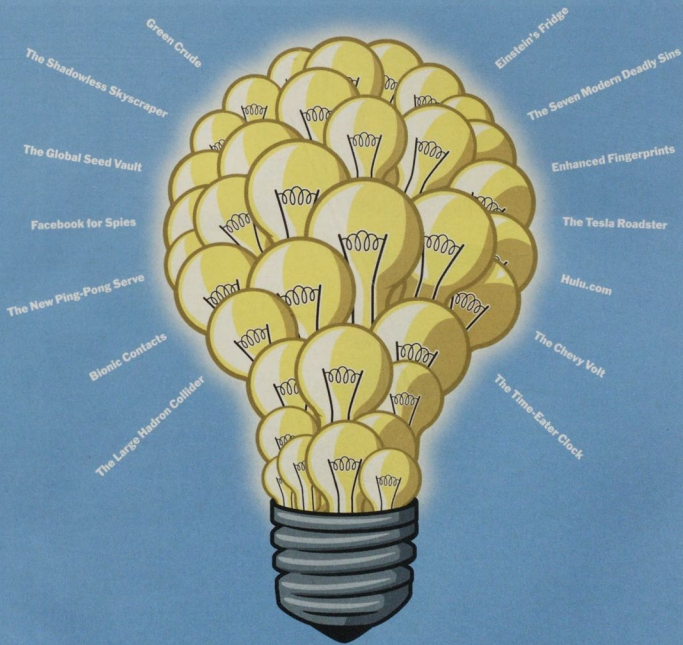


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The 50 Best Inventions Of the Year

Illustrations for TIME by Christoph Niemann

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The Invention of
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TIME's Tech
Buyer's Guide

Invention Of the Year

Your genome used to be a closed book. Now a simple, affordable test can shed new light on everything from your intelligence to your biggest health risks. Say hello to your DNA—if you dare

BY ANITA HAMILTON

What Your Gene Test Can Tell You

Above-average odds of living to 100

Short-term memory is average

If she was breast-fed, her IQ is slightly higher than average

Above-average risk for glaucoma

4% chance of getting age-related macular degeneration

Has wet earwax

Can taste bitterness in broccoli and cabbage

Average odds of getting throat cancer

Less than 1.4% chance of getting melanoma, the most dangerous kind of skin cancer

If she is a smoker, she probably lights up a little less frequently than other smokers

0.5% chance of getting esophageal cancer

Because she metabolizes caffeine slowly, she is more sensitive to its stimulating effects

Might have an elevated risk of a nonfatal heart attack due to slow caffeine metabolism

Not resistant to malaria

Less than 1% chance of getting stomach cancer

Below-average odds of blood vessels narrowing as a result of peripheral artery disease

Drinking black or green tea is moderately likely to reduce her chance of getting breast cancer

Not resistant to HIV/AIDS

Average odds of having an irregular heartbeat due to atrial fibrillation

Slightly elevated odds of getting the autoimmune disorder Sjögren's syndrome, which affects up to 4 million Americans

10% to 20% chance of getting gallstones

10% lifetime chance of getting colorectal cancer

Average chance of getting cluster headaches

Face does not flush red when she's tipsy

85% chance of having brown eyes

14% chance of having green eyes

Average sensitivity to sweaty odors

1% chance of getting mouth cancer

Does not have a sweet tooth

Less than 0.3% chance of getting larynx cancer

Higher than 10% odds of having dyslexia

Less likely than average to get asthma

14.5% chance of having a heart attack

6% chance of getting lung cancer

12% chance of developing breast cancer

Probably lactose tolerant

10% or lower chance of getting kidney disease

13% chance of getting dry, itchy skin from psoriasis

Not resistant to the stomach-flu virus known as norovirus

Regulates blood-sugar levels normally

Below-average chance of back pain due to lumbar-disk disease

Typical odds of remission from depression when treated with Celsis or Paxil

0.08% chance of getting the bowel disease called Crohn's

30% to 70% chance of sexual dysfunction when taking certain antidepressants





The Retail DNA Test

1 Before meeting with Anne Wojcicki, co-founder of a consumer gene-testing service called 23andMe, I know just three things about her: she's pregnant, she's married to Google's Sergey Brin, and she went to Yale. But after an hour chatting with her in the small office she shares with co-founder Linda Avey at 23andMe's headquarters in Mountain View, Calif., I know some things no Internet search could reveal: coffee makes her giddy, she has a fondness for sequined shoes and fresh baked bread, and her unborn son has a 50% chance of inheriting a high risk for Parkinson's disease.

Learning and sharing your genetic secrets are at the heart of 23andMe's controversial new service—a \$399 saliva test that estimates your predisposition for more than 90 traits and conditions rang-



Average odds of the placenta separating from her uterine wall during pregnancy

If she is nullip, she has typical odds of having high blood pressure

5% chance of having attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder

0.05% chance of glucose intolerance due to celiac disease

The level of C-reactive protein, which is made in the liver, is normal, indicating an average risk for cardiovascular disease

If infected with HIV, she would have typical levels of the virus in her blood

No increased risk for alcoholism

3% chance of having restless-leg syndrome

Slightly below-average odds of developing knee osteoarthritis

Average nonverbal IQ

Average sensitivity to pain

0.1% chance of having the rare autoimmune condition ankylosing spondylitis

Slim chance of being a track star

If she takes an antidepressant, she has about a 1% to 35% chance of involuntary fics from tardive dyskinesia

0.15% chance of getting the autoimmune disease lupus

Schizophrenia risk is unknown

Less than 0.001% chance of developing the neurological disorder progressive supranuclear palsy

Average level of HDL ("good") cholesterol

Had a 0.001% chance of getting the rare and often fatal childhood cancer neuroblastoma

Average number of freckles or moles

Slightly elevated odds of getting gout

If alcohol-dependent, she has typical odds of getting withdrawal seizures

Less than 2% chance of getting Parkinson's disease

0.2% chance of developing Type 1 diabetes

2% to 10% chance of having endometriosis

Less than 1% chance of having an acute form of pre-eclampsia when pregnant

No increased odds of having red hair

Up to 25% chance of developing uterine fibroids

Risk for obsessive-compulsive disorder is unknown

15% chance of getting Type 2 diabetes

Almost no chance of developing Lou Gehrig's disease (ALS)

Her babies are likely to weigh 2 oz. less than average at birth

2.5% chance of developing rheumatoid arthritis

Not a carrier for cystic fibrosis

24% chance of developing blood clots in veins (venous thromboembolism)

Average odds of heroin addiction

Increased odds of getting multiple sclerosis

58.4% chance of becoming obese by age 89

Good at learning to avoid mistakes

Unlikely to have red-blood-cell damage due to lack of the critical enzyme G6PD

1% or lower chance of being bipolar

Not a carrier for sickle-cell anemia

The beta blocker bisoprolol would not be effective if she had heart failure

Her sons have an average chance of developing male-pattern baldness

One-in-a-million chance of getting Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease, the human version of mad-cow disease

Unknown odds of being freaked out by these test results



Research 2.0 23andMe's Anne Wojcicki and Linda Avey want to democratize DNA research

ing from baldness to blindness. Although 23andMe isn't the only company selling DNA tests to the public, it does the best job of making them accessible and affordable. The 600,000 genetic markers that 23andMe identifies and interprets for each customer are "the digital manifestation of you," says Wojcicki (pronounced *Wo-jis-key*), 35, who majored in biology and was previously a health-care investor. "It's all this information beyond what you can see in the mirror."

We are at the beginning of a personal-genomics revolution that will transform not only how we take care of ourselves but also what we mean by personal information. In the past, only elite researchers had access to their genetic fingerprints, but now personal genotyping is available to anyone who orders the service online and mails in a spit sample. Not everything about how this information will be used is clear yet—23andMe has stirred up debate about issues ranging from how meaningful the results are to how to prevent genetic discrimination—but the curtain has been pulled back, and it can never be closed again. And so for pioneering retail genomics, 23andMe's DNA-testing service

is TIME's 2008 Invention of the Year.

The 1997 film *Gattaca* depicted it as a futuristic nightmare, but human-genotyping has emerged instead as both a real business and a status symbol. Movie mogul Harvey Weinstein says he is backing 23andMe not for its cinematic possibilities but because "I think it is a good investment. This is strictly medical and business-like." Google has chipped in almost half the \$8.9 million in funding raised by the firm, which counts Warren Buffett, Rupert Murdoch and Ivanka Trump among its clients.

Weinstein isn't saying what his test told him, but Wojcicki and her famous husband are perfectly willing to discuss their own genetic flaws. Most worrisome is a rare mutation that gives Brin an estimated 20% to 80% chance of getting Parkinson's disease. There's a 50% chance that the couple's child, due later this year, will inherit that same gene. "I don't find this embarrassing in any way," says Brin, who blogged about it in September. "I felt it was a lot of work and impractical to keep it secret, and I think in 10 years it will be commonplace to learn about your genome."

And yet while Wojcicki and Brin aren't

worried about genetic privacy, others are. In May, President George W. Bush signed a bill that makes it illegal for employers and insurers to discriminate on the basis of genetic information. California and New York tried to block the tests on the grounds that they were not properly licensed, but have so far been unsuccessful. Others worry about how sharing one's genetic data might affect close relatives who would prefer not to let a family history of schizophrenia or Lou Gehrig's disease become public. And what if a potential mate demands to see your genome before getting serious?

Such hypotheticals are endless. And some researchers argue that the tests are flawed. "The uncertainty is too great," says Dr. Muin Khoury, director of the National Office of Public Health Genomics at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, who argues that it is wrong to charge people for access to such preliminary and incomplete data. Many diseases stem from several different genes and are triggered by environmental factors. Since less than a tenth of our 20,000 genes have been correlated with any condition, it's impossible to nail down exactly what component is genetic. "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing," says Dr. Alan Guttmacher of the National Institutes of Health.

23andMe is unfazed by its detractors. "It's somewhat paternalistic to say people shouldn't get these tests because 'we don't want people to misunderstand or get upset,'" says board member Esther Dyson. There can be a psychological upside too: some people decide to lead healthier lifestyles. Brin is currently funding Parkinson's research. And not all customers' results are as troubling as his. Nate Guy, 19, of Warrenton, Va., was relieved that though his uncle had died of prostate cancer, his own risk for the disease was about average. He even posted a video about it on YouTube. And unflattering findings can have a silver lining. "Now I have an excuse for not remembering things, because my memory is probably genetically flawed," Guy says.

Wojcicki and Avey see themselves not just as businesswomen but also as social entrepreneurs. With their customers' consent, they plan to amass everyone's genetic footprint in a giant database that can be mined for clues to which mutations make us susceptible to specific diseases and which drugs people are more likely to respond to. "You're donating your genetic information," says Wojcicki. "We could make great discoveries if we just had more information. We all carry this information, and if we bring it together and democratize it, we could really change health care."

A The Roadster is powered by 3,381 lithium-ion batteries—the same kind used in laptop computers

B Because it produces little heat, the Roadster is able to use an unusually efficient cooling system

C The inverter converts the AC energy from the battery into DC for the motor—and it has plenty of oomph

D With no gasoline engine to produce heat, the Roadster uses an electric heater—which means you don't need to wait for it to warm up

E Smoke detectors, an accelerometer, voltage meters and other sensors can detect any battery problems and shut down the system



F The car's motor is lightweight—only 115 lb. (52 kg), less than the average gasoline engine—but it produces significant horsepower

The Tesla Roadster.

2

Electric cars were always environmentally friendly, quiet, clean—but definitely not sexy. The Tesla Roadster has changed all that. A battery-powered sports car that sells for \$100,000 and has a top speed of 125 m.p.h. (200 km/h), the Roadster has excited the clean-tech crowd since it was announced in 2003. Celebrities like George Clooney joined a long waiting list for the Roadster; magazines like *Wired* drooled over it. After years of setbacks and shake-ups, the first Tesla Roadsters were delivered to customers this year. Reviews have been ecstatic, but Tesla Motors has been hit hard by the financial crisis. Plans to develop an affordable electric sedan have been put on hold, and Tesla is laying off employees. But even if the Roadster turns out to be a one-hit wonder, it's been a hell of an (electric) ride.

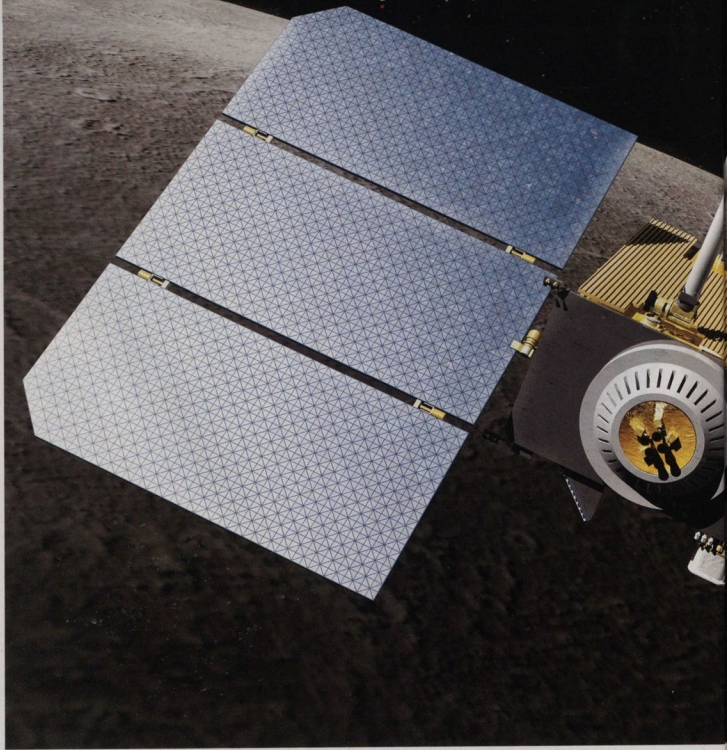


The Lunar Reconnaissance Orbiter.

3

It may have been a long time since the U.S. built the world's best cars, but nobody can touch us when it comes to spacecraft. NASA is about to prove that again with the planned launch in April 2009 of the Lunar

Reconnaissance Orbiter (LRO). Our first unmanned moonship in 11 years, the LRO will study the things lunar orbiters always study—gravity, temperature—but it will also look for signs of water ice, a vital resource for any future lunar base, and compile detailed 3-D lunar maps, including all six Apollo landing sites. Wingnuts, be warned: yes, we really went there.





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Hulu.com.

4

When cable eventually dies, websites like Hulu will be held responsible. Unlike YouTube and other amateur-video-

upload sites, Hulu is a hub for network TV shows and movies: Hulu offers shows from NBC, Fox, PBS and other channels, including free full episodes of *SNL*, *The Daily Show*, *The Office* and other hits the TiVo-less masses often miss, plus films like *Ghostbusters*, *The Fifth Element* and *Lost in Translation*. Created as a network-approved alternative to YouTube's grab bag, Hulu was at first roundly mocked as a ham-fisted corporate knockoff of the grass-roots glory that is YouTube. (It was also mocked for its weird name.) Instead it proved that suits can play in the Internet video space too and that studio content can coexist online with the user-generated kind. In doing so, it delivered the final blow that untethered TV from that box in your living room.



The Large Hadron Collider.

5

If someone invented a practical 200-m.p.g. automobile and that automobile got a flat tire, nobody would claim that the car itself was a failure. The same applies to the Large Hadron

Collider, the world's biggest particle accelerator, which went online in September, ran for 10 days and then had to shut down at least until next spring because of an overheated wire. The mammoth machine will send protons wheeling in opposite directions at nearly the speed of light, then smash them together at 6,000 times a second to try to answer such deep questions as why mass exists and whether the universe has extra dimensions. If it takes a few extra months to find out, so what?



The Global Seed Vault.

6

Superman had it right: if you want to keep something safe, build a mountain fortress above the Arctic Circle. That's

the thinking—more or less—behind the Svalbard Global Seed Vault. Almost every nation keeps collections of native seeds so local crops can be replanted in case of an agricultural disaster. The Global Seed Vault, opened this year on the far-northern Norwegian island of Spitsbergen, is a backup for the backups. It's badly needed—as many as half the seed banks in developing countries are at risk from natural disasters or general instability. The vault can hold up to 4.5 million samples, which will be kept dry at about 0°F (-18°C). Even if the facility loses power, the Arctic climate should keep the seeds viable for thousands of years. Let's just hope we still like corn then.



The Chevy Volt.

7

No-emission electric motors—which began the automobile revolution—are the technology of tomorrow for cars. But today's batteries can't support the typical driving experience. Chevy's Volt is a nice compromise. The sedan has an electric motor with a battery that can provide up to 40 miles (about 65 km) of range on a single charge. A gas engine then kicks in to recharge the battery while you're driving. Since nearly 80% of us drive less than 40 miles a day, that means that unlike the Prius, the Volt could get drivers off gas altogether. The best of both worlds lands by the end of 2010.



8

Bullets That Shoot Bullets.

Think of the Army's new Active Protection System (APS) as Star Wars for soldiers, designed to protect them from rocket-propelled grenades and other short-range threats. Raytheon's APS will automatically detect an incoming round and then launch a missile to destroy it, all within a split second. If it works, future Army vehicles will be able to head into combat with less armor.

9

The Orbital Internet.

In space, no one can hear you scream. But you will be able to send e-mail, thanks to a new protocol being developed for use there. It's hard to maintain a stable connection in orbit, so the interplanetary Internet will have to be especially tolerant of delays and disruptions. In September, a satellite used the new protocol to relay an image of the Cape of Good Hope back to Earth.



10

The World's Fastest Computer.

On May 26, at 3:30 in the morning, a \$133 million supercomputer nicknamed Roadrunner broke the long-sought-after petaflop barrier: 1 quadrillion calculations per second. Built by IBM for Los Alamos National Laboratory, Roadrunner will be used primarily to simulate the effects of aging on nuclear weapons. Next up: the exaflop barrier.

Green Crude.

11

If it weren't for that pesky climate-change problem, petroleum would remain a great source of power. It's energy-dense, portable and (relatively) cheap.

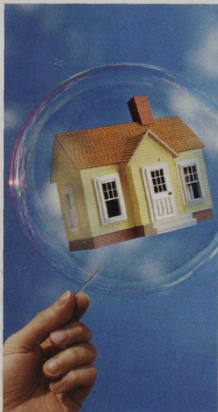
Remove the carbon and it would be perfect—which is essentially what researchers at Arizona State University (ASU) have been trying to do. Milton Sommerfeld and Qiang Hu have been working on raising algae to turn into a biofuel that would be virtually identical to gasoline. The fuel would actually be carbon-neutral, because algae consume carbon dioxide as they grow. Unlike traditional corn or sugarcane—two plants used for most ethanol biofuels today—algae can't be eaten, so using it for fuel doesn't cut into food supplies. ASU isn't alone. Start-ups like Sapphire Energy in San Diego are vying to bring the fuel to market—and give oil back its good name.



12

Housing Funds.

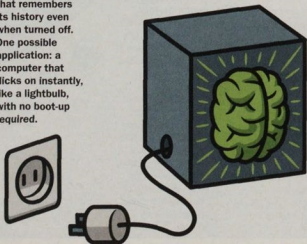
Want to bet against your house? It's been possible ever since the Chicago Mercantile Exchange launched house-price futures and options in 2006. But futures and options aren't investment products for the masses. So MacroMarkets, co-founded by economist Robert Shiller, plans this month to offer the first exchange-traded funds—bought and sold like stocks—that will allow buyers to bet on whether house prices will rise or fall.

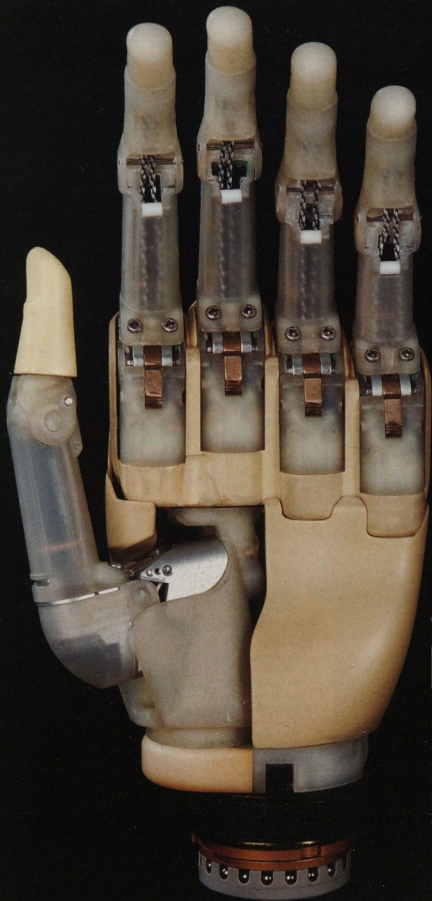


13

The Memristor.

Scientists have known it was possible for 37 years, but it took them that long to actually make a memristor, a new kind of circuit that remembers its history even when turned off. One possible application: a computer that flicks on instantly, like a lightbulb, with no boot-up required.





The Bionic Hand.

14

The world's first commercially available bionic hand took many hands many years to develop. Created by Touch Bionics, it's multi-articulating, meaning each finger has its own motor. Artificial hands are often hooklike, limited to simple open and close gestures, but the iLimb has more subtle capabilities, like a credit-card grip for grasping narrow objects. It also has a power hold for larger things like coffee mugs. Research on the device began in the United Kingdom's national health system back in the 1960s. Now hundreds of people around the world are using it. Next up for Touch Bionics? A prosthetic wrist unit, prosthetic fingers and a full bionic arm.

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THE BEST WAY TO SAVE MONEY
IS NOW THE BEST WAY TO SAVE THE PLANET.



All it takes is a little ingenuity, and a long history of delivering energy-saving, environmentally friendly solutions to the buildings industry. Johnson Controls provides intelligent solutions that can start now and pay off fast. For example, we helped the city of Baltimore develop a heating and power plant that turns wastewater residue into fuel, reduces the city's emissions, and is going to save \$1.8 million per year doing it. Just another way we're making this world a more comfortable, safe, and sustainable place. Want to make your world a better place? We'll help you figure it out at ingenuitywelcome.com

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The Direct-to-Web Supervillain Musical.

15

Dr. Horrible (Neil Patrick Harris) is just your average lovelorn bad guy trying to make it big—he's got some dubious weapons, a secret hideout, a square-jawed nemesis (Nathan Fillion) and a video blog. Oh, and he sings. Think *The Diaries of Lex Luthor* as told by Rodgers and Hammerstein. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* creator Joss Whedon conceived and produced the online video *Dr. Horrible's Sing-Along Blog* during the writers' strike. It's hard to imagine a studio green-lighting an idea as weird and ostensibly uncommercial as a 43-min., three-part online supervillain musical. But in a medium that rewards the unconventional—the Web—*Dr. Horrible* was a hit. After its July debut, the series reached No. 1 on iTunes' video chart, with 2.2 million downloads a week. Now there's a sound track, Web comics and a DVD on the way. Cue the maniacal laughter.

16

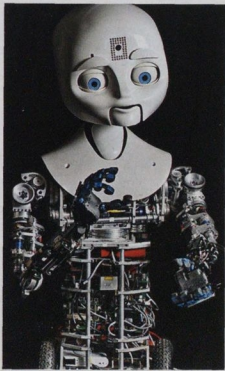
The Dynamic Tower.

Each of the 80 floors in the world's first moving skyscraper—with offices and a hotel, topped by apartments—will rotate 360 degrees, all at different speeds. Designed by Italian architect David Fisher and located in Dubai (another is planned for Moscow), the prefab, wind-powered tower will cost an estimated \$700 million. The residences will sell for \$3.7 million to \$36 million. The building should be completed in 2010.


17

The Mobile, Dexterous, Social Robot.

Nexi is the first of a new class of robot being developed at MIT's Media Lab and referred to as MDS, which stands for mobile, dexterous, social. Nexi can, or eventually will be able to, move around on wheels (hence mobile), and it can pick up objects (dexterous). But its most striking feature is its humanlike, albeit creepy, face, which can express a startling range of emotions (social).


18

The New Mars Rover.

The last two rovers the U.S. sent to Mars are still running more than four years later. The next one, the Mars Science Laboratory (most boring rover name ever!), is even tougher. Launching in 2009, it is 9 ft. (2.7 m) long, runs on a chunk of plutonium and carries 176 lb. (80 kg) of scientific instruments, including a neutron gun—for firing at the ground to detect permafrost, not at hostile Martians.

Montreal's Public Bike System.

19

When lots of people use a communal resource—like, say, a cheap public bicycle-rental program—they tend to abuse it. So when the city of Montreal built its Public Bike System, nicknamed Bixi, the designers packed in all the technology they could find, in a desperate attempt to out-engineer human iniquity. The modular bike-rack stations are Web-enabled and solar-powered. The bicycles are designed with tons of sealed components to resist the savage beatings they will undoubtedly receive, and they're equipped with RFID tags so they're easily trackable. Too bad they can't redesign the riders too.




The Everything Game.

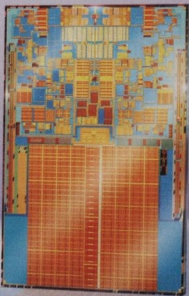
20

It's blasphemy, brilliance or both to take the entire evolution of a species—from a single-celled animalcule in a drop of water to a space-faring, galaxy-exploring sentient being—and turn it into a video game. But that's exactly what Will Wright has done. Wright is the man who created *The Sims*, a game about everyday life in suburbia, but apparently he found the vast panorama of human experience too confining, because he then spent seven years creating *Spore*, in which players design their own life-form and then manage every aspect of its progress through the centuries, from savagery to civilization.





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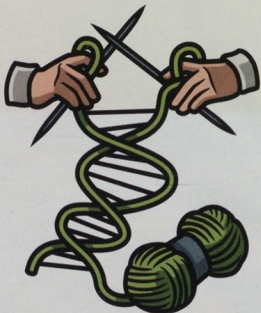
THE WORLD'S BEST NOTEBOOKS HAVE INTEL® CENTRINO® 2 INSIDE.



The Synthetic Organism.

21

Man makes life! Or almost. J. Craig Venter, cartographer of the human genome, managed another genetic first when he pieced together de novo the genome of a living organism from a batch of man-made compounds. Granted, he chose the organism with one of the smallest genomes on the planet, but splicing together its more than 582,000 base pairs was no easy feat. Venter has yet to boot up his product in a cell to prove that it truly is alive, but that should come, he predicts, within the year. Once that happens, he believes it will be possible to mix and match genomes to generate an endless list of organisms that can perform all sorts of molecular magic, from turning sugar into fuel or digesting oil spills in oceans to even churning out cures for disease. Who needs evolution?



The Shadowless Skyscraper.

22

Very tall buildings are a tough sell in Paris. The Parisians don't want their lovely low-rise city looking too much like Houston. So Swiss architects Jacques Herzog and Pierre de Meuron knew they'd have to win over skeptical neighbors to get their 50-story tower built. Le Project Triangle, a combination office-hotel, is the first skyscraper to be approved since Paris lifted a 31-year-old ban on high-rise construction in the city center. Using computer modeling, the designers of Beijing's "bird's nest" Olympic stadium came up with a building almost as startling: a slender glass-and-steel triangle, like a shark fin, that they say won't cast shadows on surrounding streets. The pyramid is one of history's oldest building shapes, but a slim triangle? That's new. Is it the shape of things to come?

23

The Branded Candidate.

Barack Obama hat: \$15. Barack Obama special-edition Beyoncé T shirt: \$60. Devising a system to make and sell your own swag and garner millions in profits, not to mention the phone numbers and addresses of hundreds of thousands of potential volunteers? Priceless.



24

Bionic Contacts.

The University of Washington's Babak Parviz has created a prototype "bionic" contact lens that projects a display over the wearer's visual field, so images, maps, data, etc., appear to float in midair. The lens will work using tiny LEDs, which are powered by radio waves and solar cells.

Thin-Film Solar Panels.

25

There are countless ways to manufacture solar panels, but there's only one metric that counts: how the cost of solar power compares with that of electricity from fossil fuels. Until energy from the sun can beat energy from coal in the marketplace, solar will remain a niche player, adorning the rooftops of those who care more for their green reputation than for their bottom line. Enter Nanosolar, a start-up based in San Jose, Calif., that manufactures thin-film solar panels. Unlike the bulky silicon panels that dominate the solar market, Nanosolar thin-film technology is light and extremely cheap to make. The key is the manufacturing process: while silicon panels need to be baked in batches, Nanosolar's thin-film panels roll off the assembly line, as if from a printing press.



The Speedo LZR Racer.

26

Ninety-four percent. That's the percentage of Olympic swimming races won in Beijing by athletes wearing the LZR, a second-skin suit that's the first to be made with ultrasonically bonded seams. The LZR, which was co-designed by NASA experts, comes with a built-in corset to improve buoyancy and is constructed with compression fabric that keeps muscles from vibrating in the water. All of which was enough to ensure victory for Michael Phelps a history-making eight times—including a 0.01-sec. win in the 100-m butterfly. Phelps, however, was wearing only the bottom half of the suit (to keep his shoulders from being constricted), while the silver medalist had donned the full-body version. Which makes you wonder just how much faster he might have gone ...



Bubble Photography.

27

In order to show the cars in *Speed Racer* zooming past Hawaiian sunrises and around alpine mountains, a still photographer snapped the locales from every angle and then digitally stitched the shots together to create "bubbles," or virtual photo-realistic backgrounds. A director could use bubble photography to shoot an epic on an indie budget (though it won't make the movie a hit).



28

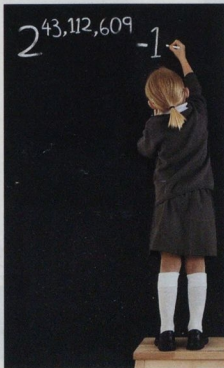
The Invisibility Cloak.

Scientists at UC Berkeley have taken a major step toward making Harry Potter's disguise of choice a reality. They've engineered two new materials—one using a fishnet of metal layers, the other using tiny silver wires—that neither absorb nor reflect light, causing it instead to bend backward. The principle at work is refraction, which is what makes a straw appear bent in a glass of water.

29

The 46th Mersenne Prime.

A Mersenne number is a positive number that can be expressed in the form $2^n - 1$. A Mersenne prime is a Mersenne number that is, well, prime. Searching for higher and higher Mersenne primes is the unofficial national sport of mathematicians. The 45th and 46th (right) Mersenne primes were found this year, the latter by a team at UCLA. It has almost 13 million digits.

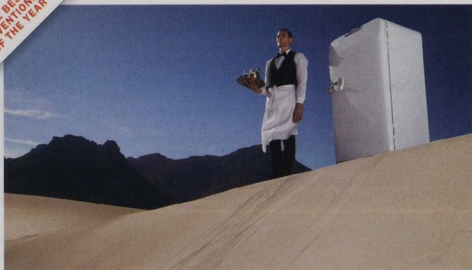


30

The Internet Of Things.

In September, a group of high-tech companies that includes Cisco and Sun formed the IP for Smart Objects Alliance. Simply put, the organization intends to create a new kind of network that will allow sensor-enabled physical objects—appliances in your home, products in a factory, cars in a city—to talk to one another, the same way people communicate over the Internet.





Einstein's Fridge.

31

That Albert Einstein guy had some pretty good ideas—relativity, the photoelectric effect, the “up” hairdo—but his contributions to the field of refrigerator theory have been sadly neglected. No longer. Scientists at Oxford University have resurrected an eco-friendly refrigerator design that Einstein and a collaborator patented in 1930. Instead of cooling the interior of the refrigerator with freon—a serious contributor to global warming—Einstein’s design uses ammonia, butane and water. It also requires very little energy. Though Einstein’s original refrigerator wasn’t all that efficient, the Oxford researchers have tweaked his version and believe it could eventually compete in the marketplace. Then maybe we’ll remember Einstein the way he wanted—as a guy who liked to keep things cool.



Facebook for Spies.

32

Secret agents are people too. They’re just very scary people who know lots of classified information. So don’t they deserve a social network of their own? That’s why in September, the Federal Government launched A-Space, a highly restricted Facebook-style website that’s designed to encourage the sharing of ideas and information among members of the FBI, the CIA, the NSA and the U.S.’s 13 other intelligence services. (If you can name them all, you’re probably already on A-Space.) They still use Facebook to break up with each other like the rest of the world, though.



The Biochemical Energy Harvester.

33

Wasting energy is so 20th century. Power is all around us, if we just know how to use it. That's what motivated Max

Donelan, a kinesiologist at Simon Fraser University, to invent a device that harnesses the energy of walking. The 3.5-lb. device wraps around the wearer's knee and generates power using the same principle that allows hybrid cars to recycle energy created by braking. A walker wearing harvesters on both knees could generate about five watts of power—enough to charge 10 cell phones—without hampering his or her stride. Donelan's device is perhaps the most promising in a class of products that harvest energy—all the more important at a time when portable tech, from Blackberries to iPods, is becoming ubiquitous. There's not a watt to waste.

34

Made-in-Transit Packaging.

Most fresh food comes with a "best before" date, but Dutch designer Agata Jaworska thinks it should be marked "ready by." Her concept: packaging in which food can keep growing during shipping to the supermarket so that it arrives ready to be harvested, in a state of optimum freshness.



35

Airborne Wind Power.

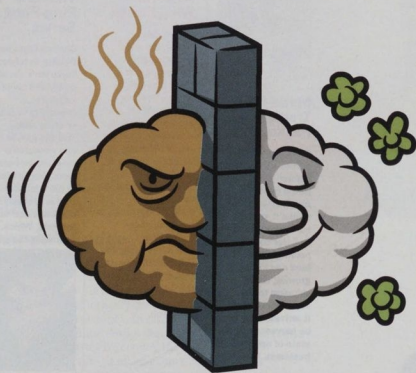
As you get higher, the wind gets stronger. Harvesting just 1% of those high-altitude breezes could produce enough power for everyone on Earth. That's what Sky Windpower aims to do. The San Diego company—founded by a scientist who got his start breaking codes during World War II—is designing flying wind turbines that could harness the jet stream. It's the definition of high tech.

36

The New Ping-Pong Serve.

German Olympian Dimitrij Ovtcharov's serve isn't about power. It's about weirdness. Crouching to table-level, he peers over his paddle and executes a hand dance before launching the ball at his opponent, who is probably too dumbfounded to respond. Which, of course, is the point.





Smog-Eating Cement.

37

Take ordinary cement. Mix in an agent called a photocatalyzer (titanium dioxide, if you really want to know), which speeds up the natural process that breaks down smog into its component parts. Now start paving things with the stuff. That's what they're doing in Segrate, an Italian town near Milan. The smog-eating cement is called TX Active, and the Italian firm Italcementi spent 10 years developing it. Now there's a busy street in Segrate that's covered with it, and Italcementi claims it has reduced nitric oxides in the area as much as 60%. Bonus: buildings made with TX Active stay cleaner too.



38

The Baseball Instant Replay.

Introduced for this season's stretch run, replay allows teams to contest controversial home-run calls for the first time. Using ballpark monitors, umps can review a play from every possible angle. This may add minutes to a game that already suffers from slowness, but that's a small price to pay for making the correct call.

39

Enhanced Fingerprints.

English physicist John Bond has developed a technique for analyzing fingerprints on a gun's ammo even if it's been wiped clean. Sweat corrodes metal, so Bond applied an electrical charge and a fine carbon powder to a shell case's corroded part, revealing a fingerprint. Police are already using the four-month-old technology to reopen some cases.

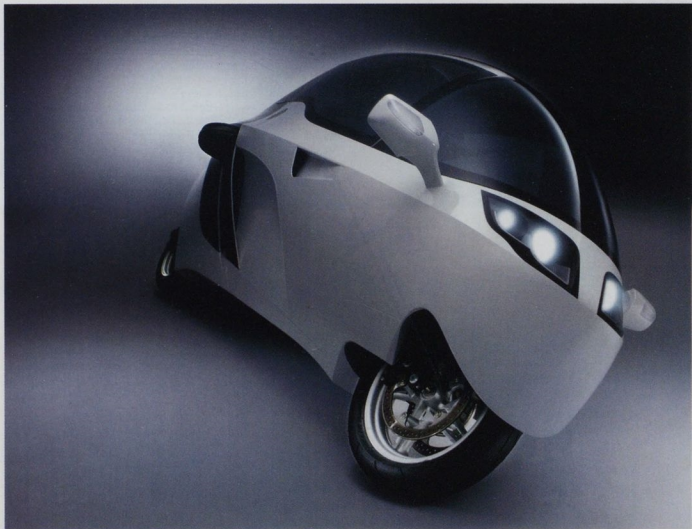


40

The Seven New Deadly Sins.

In March the Vatican updated the traditional seven deadly sins with seven new social sins, to bring the list into line with the temptations of the modern world. The additions: bioethical sins, morally dubious experiments that harm human embryos, drug abuse, polluting, social injustice, accumulating excessive wealth and creating poverty.





The Peraves MonoTracer.

41

You really need the mind of a Swiss engineer to come up with a vehicle that combines the lithe maneuverability of a motorcycle with the not-getting-rained-on-ability of a conventional automobile. In addition to looking as though it just fell out of a time machine from a distant and much cooler future, the MonoTracer furnishes its driver (and one passenger) with such luxuries as air-conditioning and windshield wipers, plus the safety of a cockpit made from Kevlar and carbon fiber and reinforced with an aluminum roll cage. The MonoTracer is also energy-efficient: its BMW engine, which goes from zero to 62 m.p.h. in 4.8 sec. (100 km/h), gets about 65 m.p.g. (3.6 L/100 km).



Disemvoweling.

42

The great thing about the Internet is that people can say whatever they want on it. Which is also the terrible thing about the Internet, because comments on blogs and in other online forums can be incredibly annoying, not to mention hate-filled and obscene. How can moderators walk the line between unregulated anarchy and oppressive censorship? Some have begun discouraging problem commenters by simply removing the vowels from their posts, a process known as disemvoweling. The offending message is rendered less obnoxious, but it's still possible for other readers to decipher it—f thy rllly wnt t.

High-Tech Running Shoes.

43

Nike and Adidas continued their long-running battle for sneaker supremacy this year. Nike unleashed its Zoom Victory track spike (*right*), with a paper-thin surface that snugs runners like a second skin. Narrow threads made of Vectran, a material used to sew landing balloons on the lunar rover, run like cables from the laces to the bottom, supporting the foot at key pressure points such as the heel. The threads keep the shoe together with a minimum of extraneous material, allowing the spike to weigh in at under 100 grams, which makes it one of the lightest performance shoes on record. Meanwhile, Adidas, working in tandem with the German carmaker, engineered the Porsche Design Sport Bounce running shoe (*left*). It features metallic springs that cushion the foot, making your run as smooth as a ride in a high-end sports car.



44

Sunscreen for Plants.

Sure, crops require sun, but they need some skin protection too. Purshade, a new SPF-45 spray, forms a film of microscopic mirror-like prisms over growing fruits and veggies to reflect harmful UV rays while letting the good light pass through. Result: higher yields and better-quality food.



45

The Short Refinance.

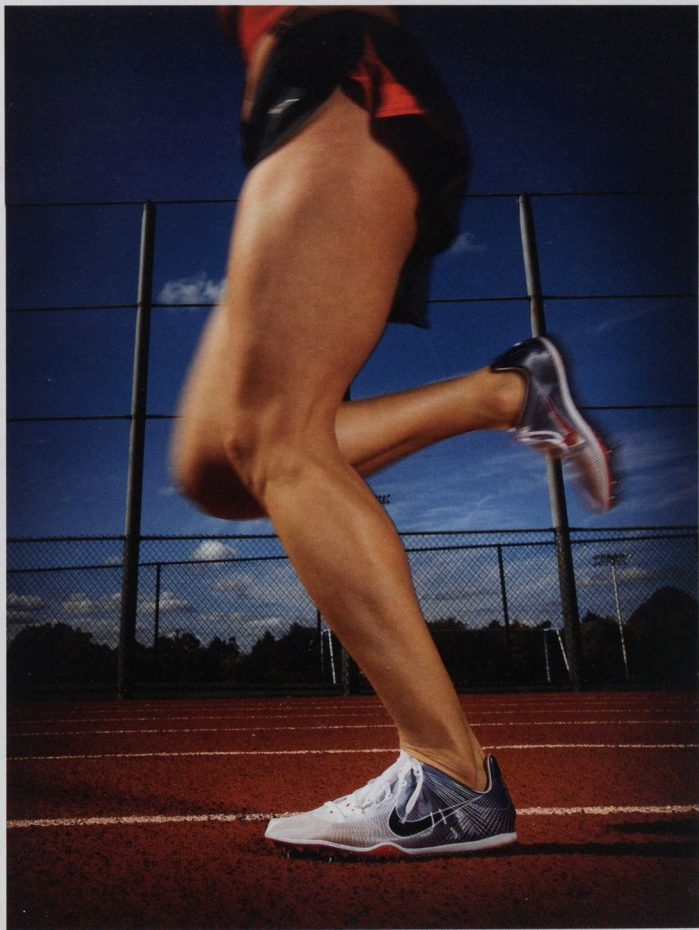
This new term describes a rare but growing option for homeowners struggling to make payments on a house now worth less than when they bought it: another new lender agrees to rewrite the loan tied to a fresh appraisal. The tricky part is getting the current mortgage company to take less than what it's owed—but given banks' woes, it's more likely than it once was.

46

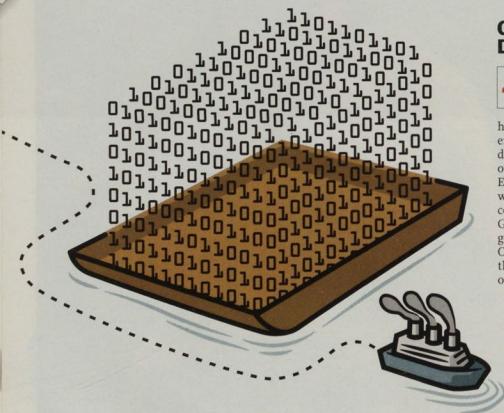
Aptera Electric Car.

The Aptera is one of the first eco-friendly cars to get high mileage: the all-electric model gets 120 miles (193 km) per charge, and the hybrid gets 300 (483). Extra points for cool design and acceleration from zero to 60 (97 km/h) in under 10 seconds—living up to its name, Greek for “wingless flight.”





PHOTOGRAPH FOR TIME BY JOHN HOLT



Google's Floating Data Center.

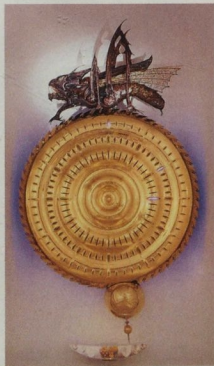
47

The hidden cost of the triumph of the Internet is the rise of the data center. The Net runs on huge complexes of hot, power-hungry servers that eat up real estate and energy in massive quantities—in 2006 data centers consumed a staggering 1.5% of the U.S.'s entire supply of electricity. Engineers at Google may have found a way out: the self-sufficient floating data center. According to a patent filed by Google, wind turbines and wave-powered generators will provide the electricity. Ocean water will cool the servers, which throw off huge amounts of heat. And offshore real estate is essentially free.

48

The Time-Eater Clock.

The handless, numberless Corpus Clock, created by English inventor John Taylor and unveiled by Stephen Hawking himself, is designed to express time's irrevocability. It is surmounted by an escapement in the form of a monstrous grasshopper that devours each second as it passes.



49

Sound-Enhanced Food.

Experimenting with how sound affects taste, chef Heston Blumenthal found that playing a recording of breaking waves makes an oyster taste 30% saltier than the same food eaten to the noise of barnyard animals. At the Fat Duck, a restaurant in Bray, England, his Sound of the Sea dish comes with an unusual side: an iPod loaded with sea sounds.



50

A Camera For the Blind.

Paradoxical as it sounds, the Touch Sight camera makes it possible for the visually impaired to take pictures. The photographer holds the camera up to his or her forehead, and a Braille-like screen on the back makes a raised image of whatever the lens sees.

By Jeremy Caplan, Kristina Dell, Andrea Dorfman, Laura Fitzpatrick, Justin Fox, Sean Gregory, Lev Grossman, Barbara Kiviat, Jeffrey Kluger, Richard Lacayo, Michael Lemonick, Lisa McLaughlin, Jay Newton-Smith, Alice Park, Mark Thompson, Bryan Walsh and Rebecca Winters Keegan

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Tech Buyer's Guide

BY JEREMY CAPLAN, LEV GROSSMAN, ANITA HAMILTON AND JOSH QUITTNER

PHONES,
CAMERAS,
LAPTOPS, TOYS, ETC.



Home Audio

The FatMan iTube ValveDock

The iPod obviously is the greatest thing since unicorns and rainbows, but it can produce a slightly thin, cold sound. Valve amps, while they put out warm, rich audio goodness, are hilariously clunky and outdated. But if you run the one through t'other, the way the ValveDock does, you get the best of both worlds: the organic power of the analog past redeems the sins of the digital present. Plus those glowy retro vacuum tubes look cool. **\$450; \$550 with speakers**



Sennheiser MX W1 Wireless Headphones The sound that pumps through these precious earbuds—via an audio technology called Klear—is crisp and full. They're comfortable too, and they work with virtually any device: just plug in the base station and you're good to go. **\$499**



Samson StudioDock 3i Widely known as a maker of in-studio equipment, Samson has condescended to create this handy audio solution for civilians: a pair of sweet, pure-sounding speakers with an iPod dock built right in, plus a bonus USB interface so they can talk to your computer too. **\$149**



Cameras

The Flip Mino

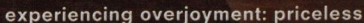
Dumbed-down technology has never looked smarter. With this 3.3-oz. video recorder—available with personalized covers—you press its one and only button to start and stop recording up to 60 min. of vga-quality video. Then plug it into your computer's usb port and follow the onscreen instructions to save or e-mail your masterpiece. Best of all, the price is right. **\$180**



Nikon D90 Camera Now you don't have to choose between a world-class single-lens-reflex camera and a video camera that shoots high definition. The D90 provides both with aplomb. **\$999 (body only), \$1,299 (with lens)**



The Fuji FinePix Z200fd This 10-megapixel slim cam isn't just pretty on the outside. It can also detect and focus on up to 10 faces in a single frame, and its scene modes automatically adapt to different lighting for parties, museums and even fireworks. **\$300**



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SAMSUNG

Toys

WowWee Alive Lion Cub

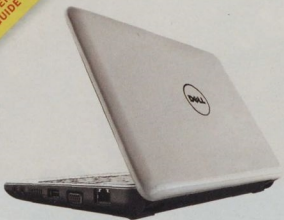
Who says stuffed animals are nothing but fluff? This plush lion will meow and wink for attention, snarl when you rub him the wrong way, and snore contentedly when held gently in the arms of kids ages 3 and up. It's a great way to start teaching tots how to treat animals with care—and why yanking on their tails is a bad idea. **\$59**



Disney Ultimate WALL•E The resilient recycling robot from the hit summer flick lives on as a 16-in.-tall (41 cm) remote-controlled toy. He can dance to music, give you those sad eyes when he's blue and use his infrared sensors to steer clear of obstacles. If only he'd take out the trash. ... **\$190**



Mattel Styl'in Studio Instead of raiding Mom's closet and makeup stash, tween girls can try out new eye shadow, hairdos, hats and more using this PC-compatible drawing board with a built-in camera. Warning: after perfecting their virtual makeover, they may beg for a real one. **\$60**



Computers

Dell Inspiron Mini 9

Small enough to fit in a pocketbook, this 2.3-lb. (1 kg) ultraportable comes in two flavors: Windows XP (**\$399-\$449**) or, for maximum open-source coolness, Ubuntu Linux (**\$349**). You can stick your camera's SD card right into its media reader, and the bright 8.9-in. (23 cm) screen will show off your family photos (or YouTube faves). Tiny as it is, you don't have to scroll around to see full Web pages as you would on a phone, though the compact keyboard does take a little getting used to.



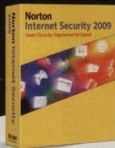
The Sakku Solar Bag A laptop bag that does not make you feel like Jon Cryer in *Two and a Half Men* is a rare and precious thing. Rarer still, Sakku's bags are made from recycled material (old sails and awnings) and incorporate a solar cell for charging gadgets. **\$289 and up**



MacBook Pro You can find a cheaper laptop, but not a better one. Every Apple MacBook Pro is carved from a single block of aluminum, making it strong and light (4.5 lb.; 2 kg). A revolutionary pair of graphic chips lets you play *Call of Duty 2* until your five-hour battery dies. **\$1,999**

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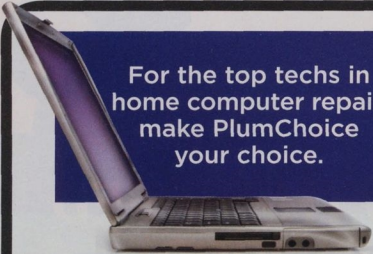
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"Your tech Julian was OUTSTANDING. If I should ever need to have my computer looked at again, your service will be the one I use. Five stars. Infinite kudos."

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Get help with your computer and just about anything that connects to it.

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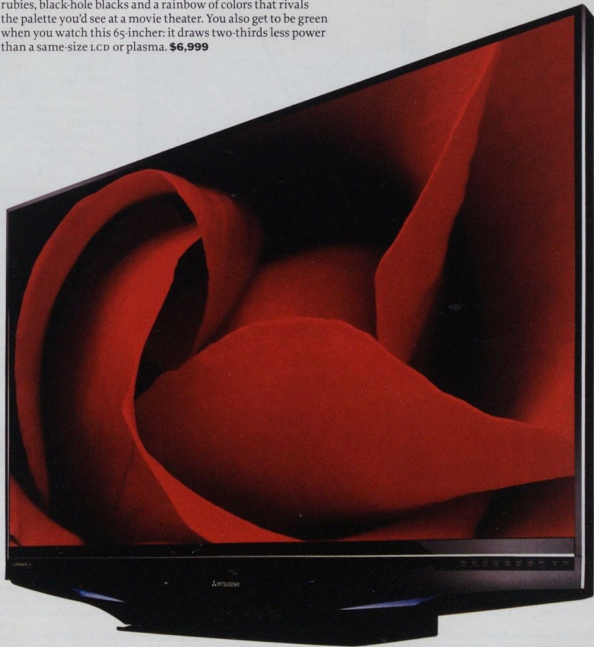
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TVs

Mitsubishi LaserVue TV

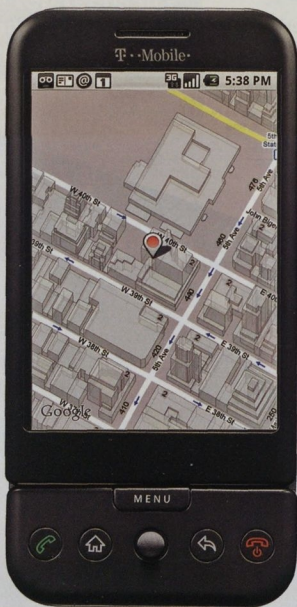
You say you have a sweet plasma or LCD TV? Ha-ha. We laugh at your puniness! Behold the first high-def TV that's powered by ... lasers! Pure laser light means reds that are redder than rubies, black-hole blacks and a rainbow of colors that rivals the palette you'd see at a movie theater. You also get to be green when you watch this 65-inch: it draws two-thirds less power than a same-size LCD or plasma. **\$6,999**



Roku Netflix Player One day all media will be available to anyone, anytime, on any device. Also, taxes will disappear and pigs will fly. Until then you could do worse than pick up this little black box, which streams 12,000 movies and TV episodes on demand. **\$99 with a Netflix subscription**



Wii Music Your chance to be a virtual virtuoso. Pick from a list of 60 instruments, then bang, toot or hoot away, alone or with up to three friends. To play guitar, sitar or banjo, you strum the Wii controller; you can also wave it like a digital baton. **\$50**



Phones

T-Mobile G1

Google's mobile operating system debuts on this understated handset packed with hardware treats, like a small keyboard beneath the slide-out touchscreen and a nimble trackball for better navigation. But what really makes it stand up to the iPhone are the nifty map program (*left*), with 360° street views, and the many free add-ons from the Android Market. **\$180**



The BlackBerry Storm It's not enough for a phone to have just a touchscreen anymore. That's why the newest BlackBerry, which goes on sale in November, has a clickable screen for opening e-mails and launching Web pages. The tactile feedback helps minimize mistakes. **Not yet priced**



The Aliph Jawbone This state-of-the-art Bluetooth headset won't solve the problem of looking as if you're talking to yourself while walking down the street, but at least you'll look good doing it. Half as big as the original Jawbone, it now has military-grade noise-canceling too. **\$180**

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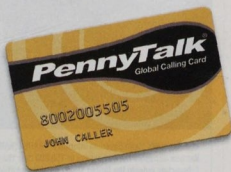
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Life



Apple specializes
in minimalist design
that simply works better

USER'S GUIDE, PAGE 109

■ FASHION ■ USER'S GUIDE



FASHION

Purple Reign.

Why this color is everywhere this (political) season

BY KRISTINA ZIMBALIST

MUCCIA PRADA PLANTED the seeds in her spring 2007 collection, sending down the runway two satin dresses the runny purple-blue of Van Gogh's irises. Since then, fellow designers Marc Jacobs and Zac Posen have filled their lines with shades of it. Nike, the Gap and even Cadillac are sporting its finery. And Michelle Obama certainly got the memo. She wore it to her husband's nomination ceremony and final debate and on *Larry King Live*—as did, come to think of it, Mr. King.

On the off chance that it has escaped your notice, purple is having a moment. And while many may assume a sudden color explosion to be just another whim of

This year's It color As analysts predicted, blue iris abounds in '08

fickle fashion, the analysts and anthropologists who study shifts in chromatic preferences see this particular manifestation—the purple proliferation—as a sign of our uncertain times.

Sartorially speaking, fall is almost always dominated by warm colors (think camel, winter white), so this season's abundance of purple—and a chilly blue one at that—is “very unusual,” says Leatrice Eiseman, psychologist and executive director of the Pantone Color Institute. The New Jersey-based company, which provides universal color standards for design industries and manufacturers worldwide, predicted two years ago that purple would be everywhere this fall. Eiseman sees the hybrid color as a reflection of “discontent and desire for change,” a quarrel between cool blue (peace, hope) and warm red (passion, anger, turmoil).

That's one interpretation. Leslie Harrington, executive director of the Color Association, the oldest chromatic forecasting firm in the U.S., offers another. “The meaning of red and blue are so entrenched in our society,” she says. “Purple is representative of not deciding.” Which may explain why pundits from Keith Olbermann to Bill O'Reilly have been sporting purple ties during the election season.

Even antipurple people have gotten sucked in by the color's zeitgeistiness. “I always hated purple, and I hated people who were into purple,” says Manhattan-based designer Thakoon Panichgul, a favorite of Michelle Obama's who in December will launch a collection at Target. “But it has an element of angst that I gravitated to this season.”

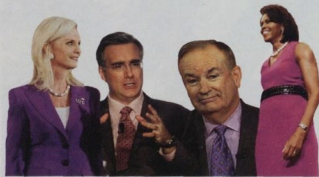
Color has long functioned as a cultural mood ring. There was the rainbow cacophony that defined the free-love, foot-loose '60s and the avocados and vegetal yellows of the '70s, which style experts attribute to environmental empathy spawned by Rachel Carson's *Sil-*

Violet Tendencies. A rich color trickles down to the masses



FROM THE RUNWAY ...

Prada kicked off the deep-purple trend in its spring 2007 collection, above left. Versace shifted to lavender for spring 2009



... TO THE BIGWIGS ...

Instead of red vs. blue states, Cindy McCain, Keith Olbermann, Bill O'Reilly and Michelle Obama meet in the middle



... TO YOUR HOUSE

Product designers are among the chief violet offenders. From left, a Converse sneaker, Samsung cell phone and KitchenAid mixer

lent Spring. Precisely how these trends catch on has always been hazy; the trail of bread crumbs is typically detectable only in hindsight. But there's big business in forecasting the color of the moment. A DuPont survey found that 39% of prospective car buyers would buy a completely different brand if unable to obtain

their color preference.

Twice a year, Pantone holds a closed-door, highly secretive meeting in Europe, where the world's top cultural anthropologists, color psychologists—yes, such an occupation exists—and designers from the fashion, automotive and other industries share their highly attuned thoughts

on color. Their semiannual consensus, one palette for spring and one for fall, is sold in bound copies by the hundreds for \$750 a pop to companies ranging from Pottery Barn and KitchenAid to Ford.

Meeting participants “come in with gadgets and toys, strange things like mirrors, records, their own color palettes and mood boards,” says David Shah, a Holland-based publisher of color and textile magazines who runs the Pantone gatherings. “I’ve seen people get hysterical with each other over the minutest difference in hue, something where nobody’s going to know the difference.” He adds, “Color’s a complicated business.”

And purple may be one of the most complicated colors. It traces its roots back to kings and cardinals, in the days when thousands of mollusks had to be crushed to make a single drop of purple dye, a process only those with servants could afford. Douglas Lloyd of Lloyd & Co., the New York City design firm that recently created a violet-hued ad campaign for Estée Lauder's fragrance Sensuous, says he chose the color for its “royal connotations, a richness that conjures the idea of religion and incense.” But, he says, “at the end of the day, it's just a great, poppy color.”

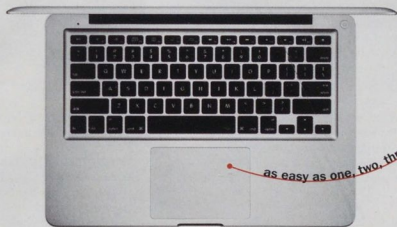
Sometimes it can have a little too much pop. Historically, the automotive industry has been leery of purple, with Americans tending to shy away from brighter colors on larger cars. But the General Motors executive in charge of external color and trim, Chris Webb, is quick to sing the praises of Cadillac's revival of “black cherry,” which he describes as “a very dark burgundy red.” When pressed, he notes that “reds are going bluer.” To the point of purple? “Exactly.”

Fashion forward
Pantone's forecast for 2009's must-have color: mimoso



Born to Hand Jive

Apple's sleek new laptop has a touch-pad mouse that is powered by the simplest of gestures

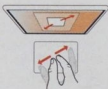


HOW IT WORKS



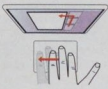
ONE FINGER

Double-tap to select an item and then drag it across the screen



TWO FINGERS

Use a pinching motion to zoom, rotate or scroll through Web pages



THREE FINGERS

Swipe to the left to jump to the previous screen; to the right to flip forward



FOUR FINGERS

Move vertically to switch windows, horizontally to change applications

WHAT'S MORE PARTISAN, shrill and exhausting than presidential politics? The eternal conflict between Microsoft and Apple, of course. While the race to the White House will, mercifully, be over soon, the decades-long battle between Macs and PCs—with the negative ads and trash-talking bigwigs—will persist until cockroaches inherit the earth. You think taxes are just a political issue? A few weeks ago, as Apple prepared to launch its new line of laptops, Microsoft execs were on the stump, criticizing what they call the “Apple tax,” the premium consumers pay for Macs with the same power and speed as lower-priced PCs.

Market research firm NPD Group dug into the numbers and determined that, on average, you'll spend up to \$800 more on an Apple than you would on a comparable PC laptop. And in most cases, PCs come with more bells and whistles, like Blu-ray drives and more ports for special external hard drives and video connectors. So what kind of sucker would be willing to pay the Apple tax?

I would! Gladly. Where do I sign? After months of reviewing Windows desktops and laptops, I put the new \$1,600 MacBook through its paces—and it was like returning from a backward country where nothing works only to find your homeland is even better than you remembered.

Apple specializes in minimalist design that simply works better. Each MacBook, for instance, is carved out of a single block of aluminum, and this unibody construction creates a stronger, lighter chassis that looks like a work of art.

Likewise, while some of the PC laptops I tried have two separate sets of mice on board—in case you prefer one type over the other—Apple's pointing system has evolved on the new laptops so that the (only) mouse consists of a single glass touch pad. Push the entire pad down to click, or configure it so a double tap does the same job.

Cooler yet is the touch pad's iPhone-like gesture system. Drag one to four fingers across the surface to perform a variety of tasks—move your cursor, zoom, scroll through

documents, even navigate among alternate desktops you can create on your machine.

Plus, with the Apple tax comes peace of mind. A major virtue of Steve Jobs' control-freak ways is that if something goes wrong with your computer, you know whom to blame. You call Apple or go to the Genius Bar at an Apple store. End of problem. With a PC, though, you have to try to figure out if you've got a hardware problem or a software problem. Invariably, you will be wrong, and the Microsoft-support rep will refer you to the PC manufacturer. Or vice versa. Repeat.

The best MacBook feature, however, is the Leopard operating system, which I find so much simpler, more stable and more straightforward than Windows Vista. The only possible argument anyone can make in the latter's favor is that, well, it powers some mighty cheap machines. And so, in summary, just as the political pundits have done lately, I'll paraphrase Oliver Wendell Holmes: taxes are the price we pay for civilized computers. ■



You & Your Diabetes Educator: A Lifetime Partnership

The middle-aged woman just diagnosed with type 2 diabetes is overwhelmed. She's always been healthy and active. Why did she get diabetes? How can she manage it with all that she has to do? What should she eat? Where does she begin?

She is among the estimated 24 million Americans with diabetes — and 57 million more with pre-diabetes — who could benefit from making an appointment with a diabetes educator. The educator usually is a dietitian, nurse, exercise specialist, mental health professional, pharmacist, podiatrist, occupational therapist or other health professional. They have been specially trained to help people manage diabetes, and help those at risk for type 2 diabetes keep it at bay.

HOW DIABETES EDUCATORS HELP

If you have diabetes, you should make an appointment with a diabetes educator every six to 12 months. In addition to teaching diabetes basics, educators help patients with problem-solving and behavioral strategies. Diabetes educators can:

- Teach diabetes basics such as how to give an insulin injection and use a home glucose monitor
- Develop personalized meal and exercise plans
- Answer medication questions and discuss new technology and treatments
- Explain the causes of diabetes
- Discuss fears and concerns

Among the most highly trained are Certified Diabetes Educators (CDE), health professionals who have trained for two years, completed 1,000 hours of field training and passed a certification exam. The certification is offered by the National Certification Board for Diabetes Educators, American Association of Diabetes Educators (AADE), American Dietetic Association (ADA) and the American Nurses Credentialing Center. The AADE estimates there are approximately 15,000 certified diabetes educators, and another 15,000 diabetes educators in practice who have not completed the CDE requirements.

According to the AADE, a 2007 Roper market survey of over 16 million diabetes patients in the U.S. found only 26 percent had seen a diabetes educator in the previous year. Don't be one of these statistics. Make an appointment with a diabetes educator today and get on the path to a better life with diabetes.

JO-ANNE RIZZOTTO, M.ED., R.D., C.D.E.
Director of Clinical Education, Joslin Diabetes Center
NORA SAUL, M.S., R.D., L.D.N., C.D.E.
Manager of Nutrition Services, Joslin Diabetes Center



A diabetes educator can be particularly helpful in these circumstances:

WHEN THE DOCTOR IS NOT A DIABETES SPECIALIST

Many people have their diabetes managed by a general practitioner who must be an expert in many areas of medicine and may not be knowledgeable about the nitty gritty of diabetes.

WHEN THE DOCTOR IS SHORT ON TIME

In this high-pressure world of medicine, doctors may have only 15 minutes with each patient. Diabetes educators are a valuable resource for patients who have questions or need help managing the disease.

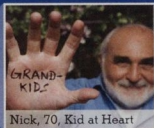
WHEN THE TREATMENT SEEMS LIKE A BURDEN

Diabetes educators can help break down the diabetes self-management plan into small, more doable steps. For instance, your doctor might tell you to get your A1C (a measure of blood glucose over the past several months) under 7. The educator may suggest starting with small steps, like testing blood glucose at home twice daily and taking a walk each morning.

DURING PREGNANCY OR PRE-PREGNANCY PLANNING

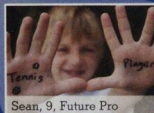
These are special times when women need proper nutrition and help managing diabetes to reduce risks that can accompany pregnancy with type 1, type 2 or gestational diabetes. The educator can explain how gestational diabetes, which goes away after the baby is born, puts the mother at risk for developing type 2 diabetes in the future.

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More power to you.
ONETOUCH

Managing Diabetes

Two Checks a Day Keep Foot Problems Away

When it comes to foot care for people with diabetes, a little bit of prevention goes a long way.



Checking your feet twice a day may seem like an inconvenience, but when you consider that one in four of the estimated 24 million Americans with diabetes experience foot complications, it's definitely worth the effort.

What's more, it can be worked into your day without much fuss. When drying off after a morning shower and taking off shoes before bed, take time to inspect your feet for cuts, blisters and signs of infection. If you are unable to check your feet, have someone else do it for you.

Left untreated, foot injuries in people with diabetes can become much more serious than a blister or superficial cut. Infected wounds can lead to hospitalization, surgery or, in extreme cases, amputation. People with diabetes have an amputation rate 10 times higher than those without diabetes. About 71,000 lower-limb amputations unrelated to trauma were performed on people with diabetes in 2004.

But with a comprehensive foot care program, you can reduce your risk and improve the long-term health of your feet.

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Deaconess Medical Center; Associate
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Here are some tips for keeping your feet in tip-top shape:

WASHING AND MOISTURIZING ARE KEY

Your first line of protection against foot problems is to wash your feet daily with mild soap in lukewarm—not hot—water. Dry your feet thoroughly and apply a lotion made for people with diabetes, or one that your doctor has approved, to the bottom and all over your feet except between the toes. Moisturizing helps protect against skin breaks, which can breed infection. Keep the spaces between the toes from getting too moist to avoid athlete's foot or other infections.

CONTROL YOUR BLOOD GLUCOSE

Elevated blood glucose (blood sugar) puts people with diabetes at risk for neuropathy (nerve damage) and vascular (blood vessel) disease. About 40 percent of people with diabetes develop neuropathy that can lead to loss of sensation in the feet. Decreased blood flow from vascular damage may cause an open wound to heal slowly. By controlling diet, blood pressure and cholesterol and not smoking, you can reduce your risk of blood vessel complications.

NEVER WALK BAREFOOT

People with diabetes are at higher risk of infected foot wounds because neuropathy makes you less likely to feel cuts and blisters on your feet and vascular disease makes them heal more slowly. Protect your feet by wearing shower shoes around the pool, on the beach and in the shower to avoid cuts and burns from hot sand or concrete.

SEE A PODIATRIST REGULARLY

Have your feet checked at least annually by a podiatrist (foot specialist). If you are very physically active or if you have foot problems, have a podiatrist examine your feet more often. Podiatrists can not only treat the injury but can also help identify the cause and a way to prevent future injury, whether it's a foot deformity like a bunion that requires surgical correction; ill-fitting shoes that need inserts, padding or replacement; or poor leg circulation that can be improved with bypass surgery, stents or an angioplasty.

TREAT WOUNDS AGGRESSIVELY

If you discover a wound or skin crack, treat it and cover it immediately. If the injury is on the bottom of your foot, rest so it can heal. Check the injury for several days to make sure the wound is healing. If it starts to look red or swollen, call your doctor.

Above all, remember: when it comes to the feet, an ounce of prevention truly goes a long way.

This section has been prepared with Joslin Diabetes Center in Boston, a nonprofit organization dedicated to improving the lives of people with diabetes and to research that will lead to prevention and a cure. Joslin, founded in 1898 and affiliated with Harvard Medical School, is a global leader in diabetes research and has diabetes treatment facilities nationwide. For more information, contact Joslin at 1-800-JOSLIN-1 or www.joslin.org. Joslin Diabetes Center does not endorse products or services. Copyright © 2008 by Joslin Diabetes Center. All rights reserved.

Chris. Newly diagnosed. Motivated. Father.

... "I'm only 3 weeks into being a guy with diabetes, so
... I'm learning to check my blood sugar. Why? Maya, my
... 4½-year-old daughter. I will dance at her wedding."

More power to you.™

ONETOUCH



For more on Chris and his meter, go to www.OneTouchDiabetes.com/Chris

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Managing Diabetes

Keep Your Diabetes on Track With Glucose Monitoring

When it comes to blood glucose (sugar) monitoring, there's no getting around it. It's something that all people with diabetes should do—and an essential part of managing the disease.



Monitoring should be part of a treatment plan that includes diet, exercise and often pills and/or insulin. The goal is to maintain glucose levels as close to normal as possible, which we know reduces the risk for the development or progression of kidney, eye and other blood vessel (vascular) complications of diabetes. By tracking blood glucose, you can spot patterns and identify how food, activity and medications influence your glucose levels. If you take insulin, glucose monitoring enables you to make daily dose adjustments.

The frequency of checking depends on several factors, including the complexity of your treatment plan, whether you have type 1 diabetes (insulin dependent) or the more common type 2 diabetes.

For some people, checking blood glucose levels once every few days is appropriate, while others need to check three or more times each day. For example, if you have type 2 diabetes that is well-controlled with diet, exercise and oral medications, checking your glucose once a day may suffice. However, if you are in the process of taking new medications and trying to improve glucose control, checking more often may be necessary.

MARTIN J. ABRAHAMSON, M.D.
Medical Director and Senior Vice President,
Joslin Diabetes Center
Associate Professor of Medicine,
Harvard Medical School

WHEN TO CHECK

The best times to check glucose are before meals, two hours after meals, at bedtime and sometimes during the night. For people checking glucose once a day I recommend checking at different times each day. Checking glucose at different times enables you to assess the effect of food, exercise and medications on glucose levels and helps clinicians make appropriate changes to treatment.

If you suspect you have low or high blood glucose, you should check immediately. Additional monitoring may be needed when you are sick, stressed or changing therapies. It also is recommended that you check your glucose before driving, especially if you take insulin. Checking glucose before and after physical activity is also recommended since this enables you to take additional food or adjust your insulin to avoid low and high glucose levels during and after exercise.

TARGET GLUCOSE GOALS

The Joslin Diabetes Center clinical guidelines recommend the following target blood glucose goals for people with diabetes:

- Pre-meal (fasting) glucose: 90–130 mg/dL
- Two-hour post-meal glucose: less than 160 mg/dL

These goals should be met provided they can be achieved safely with minimal risk of hypoglycemia (low glucose). View the full guidelines at www.Joslin.org.

THE A1C TEST

The Hemoglobin A1C is a simple blood test that reflects your average glucose over the past two to three months. It should be done by your health professional every three months if you have type 1 diabetes, or if you have type 2 diabetes and are changing treatment methods. Joslin has set an A1C goal for people with diabetes of less than 7 percent (a normal A1C for people without diabetes is 4 to 6 percent).

CONTINUOUS GLUCOSE MONITORING SYSTEMS

Over the last few years, continuous glucose monitoring systems have been developed and approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. These devices continuously measure interstitial (between tissues) blood glucose. They enable people to see their glucose levels at all times—something that can help many people with diabetes, especially those with type 1 diabetes or those with type 2 diabetes taking insulin, avoid high and low glucose. It is important to remember that these systems do not eliminate the need for checking your blood glucose with fingerstick devices.

Managing Diabetes

Annual Eye Exams Best Defense Against Vision Problems

If you have diabetes, you want to guard against diabetic retinopathy or diabetic macular edema—two serious eye diseases that often accompany diabetes and can threaten your vision.

The encouraging news is that scientists today know more about these two conditions than ever before. Promising new treatments are in the pipeline, ranging from eyedrops and steroid injections to potential drug treatments.

The demand for new treatments for these conditions is immense. If you have diabetes, your odds are one in two of developing an eye problem, ranging from glaucoma to cataracts. It's not surprising that diabetes is the leading cause of blindness in people ages 20 to 74 in the nation.

Often eye complications sneak up silently, making regular eye exams critical to catching issues before it's too late. Having your eyes examined annually—even more often if you have problems—goes a long way toward protecting your eyes, even if complications have already started to develop.

DIABETIC RETINOPATHY develops when small blood vessels in the retina are damaged. Symptoms are rare in the early nonproliferative stage. In two-thirds of patients, particularly those with poor diabetes control, the condition advances to the aggressive "proliferative stage," in which the retina tries to compensate for nonfunctioning blood vessels by forming new, abnormal vessels that are fragile and bleed easily.

The good news is that severe vision loss can be prevented in about 95 percent of cases when laser treatment is used early on.

DIABETIC MACULAR EDEMA can be more challenging to treat. Leaking blood vessels triggered by diabetes can cause swelling in the macula of the retina, impairing central vision. Laser treatment for this condition is only about 50 percent effective in halting the damage and often does not improve vision.

Your best defense against diabetic eye disease? By controlling your blood glucose, blood pressure, cholesterol and triglycerides (blood fats) and not smoking, you help preserve your sight and reduce diabetes complications. And it's critical to have your annual eye exam.

LLOYD PAUL AIELLO, M.D., PH.D.

Director of the Beetham Eye Institute, Joslin Diabetes Center
Associate Professor of Ophthalmology, Harvard Medical School



PROMISING ADVANCES

Among the new approaches being studied for retinopathy and/or diabetic macular edema are:

GROWTH FACTOR (VEGF) INHIBITORS

Researchers are studying whether growth factors are potential targets for treatments. VEGF is elevated in the eyes of people with diabetic retinopathy, so researchers hope to find a way to inhibit its effects. Early clinical trials of a VEGF blocker show promise for treating macular degeneration.

DIABETIC RETINOPATHY CLINICAL RESEARCH NETWORK (DRCR.NET)

This National Eye Institute-sponsored network of researchers across the U.S. conducts rigorous clinical trials of new therapeutic approaches for diabetic retinopathy and macular edema, including studying whether steroids can reduce macular edema. For more on the DRCR studies, visit <http://public.drcr.net>.

JOSLIN'S 50-YEAR MEDALIST STUDY

Joslin Research Director George L. King, M.D., is heading a study of Joslin Medal recipients who have lived 50 or more years with type 1 diabetes. Certain biochemical factors are being found among those who have avoided complications that could one day lead to new treatments for eye diseases.

GENE DISCOVERIES

University of Utah researchers recently identified the erythropoietin (EPO) gene that contributes to increased risk of severe diabetic retinopathy and nephropathy. This discovery could pave the way for new treatments.

PKC INHIBITORS

My colleagues and I have found that the protein kinase C (PKC) enzyme is activated early in diabetes by high blood glucose and contributes to vascular dysfunction. A large multiyear clinical trial is under way to see if PKC inhibitors can treat macular edema and preserve vision.

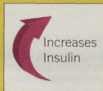
This section has been prepared with Joslin Diabetes Center in Boston, a nonprofit organization dedicated to improving the lives of people with diabetes and to research that will lead to prevention and a cure. Joslin, founded in 1898 and affiliated with Harvard Medical School, is a global leader in diabetes research and has diabetes treatment facilities nationwide. For more information, contact Joslin at 1-800-JOSLIN-1 or www.joslin.org. Joslin Diabetes Center does not endorse products or services. Copyright © 2008 by Joslin Diabetes Center. All rights reserved.



Today, I took steps to balance my **TYPE 2 DIABETES**.

Today, I chose salad and talked to my doctor.

JANUVIA works differently to lower blood sugar in 2 ways. Talk to your doctor about JANUVIA today.



Decreases
Sugar Made
In Liver



- It's a once-daily prescription pill that helps your body increase the insulin made in your pancreas and decrease the sugar made in your liver.
- Along with diet and exercise, JANUVIA helps lower blood sugar levels in people with type 2 diabetes.
- JANUVIA is not likely to cause weight gain.

Important Information: JANUVIA has not been studied with insulin and should not be used to treat patients with type 1 diabetes or diabetic ketoacidosis (increased ketones in the blood or urine) or used if you are allergic to JANUVIA. Your doctor may perform blood tests from time to time to measure how well your kidneys are working. If you have kidney problems, your doctor may prescribe lower doses of JANUVIA. When JANUVIA is used with a sulfonylurea, low blood sugar (hypoglycemia) can occur. To avoid this risk, your doctor may prescribe lower doses of the sulfonylurea. Allergic reactions, which may be serious, including rash, hives, and swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and throat that may cause difficulty breathing or swallowing, can occur. If you have an allergic reaction, stop taking JANUVIA and call your doctor right away. The most common side effects include upper respiratory tract infection, stuffy or runny nose and sore throat, and headache.

Call 1-888-JANUVIA or visit Januvia.com.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see the Patient Information on the next page and discuss it with your doctor.



This product is available through the
Merck Patient Assistance Program.
To find out if you qualify, call 1-800-727-5400.

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A different way.™
Januvia
(sitagliptin) tablets

Januvia[®]

(sitagliptin) tablets

Patient Information

JANUVIA[™] (jah-NEW-vee-ah) (sitagliptin) Tablets

Read the Patient Information that comes with JANUVIA[®] before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This leaflet does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or treatment.

What is JANUVIA?

JANUVIA is a prescription medicine used along with diet and exercise to lower blood sugar in adults with type 2 diabetes.

- JANUVIA lowers blood sugar when blood sugar is high, especially after a meal. JANUVIA also lowers blood sugar between meals.
- JANUVIA helps to improve the levels of insulin produced by your own body after a meal.
- JANUVIA decreases the amount of sugar made by the body. JANUVIA is unlikely to cause your blood sugar to be lowered to a dangerous level (hypoglycemia) because it does not work when your blood sugar is low.

JANUVIA has not been studied in children under 18 years of age.

JANUVIA has not been studied with insulin, a medicine known to cause low blood sugar.

Who should not take JANUVIA?

Do not take JANUVIA if you:

- have had an allergic reaction to JANUVIA.

JANUVIA should not be used to treat patients with:

- Type 1 diabetes.
- Diabetic ketoacidosis (increased ketones in the blood or urine).

What should I tell my doctor before and during treatment with JANUVIA?

Tell your doctor about all of your medical conditions, including if you:

- have had an allergic reaction to JANUVIA.
- have kidney problems.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if JANUVIA will harm your unborn baby. If you are pregnant, talk with your doctor about the best way to control your blood sugar while you are pregnant. If you use JANUVIA during pregnancy, talk with your doctor about how you can be on the JANUVIA registry. The toll-free telephone number for the pregnancy registry is: 1-800-986-8999.
- are breast-feeding or plan to breast-feed. It is not known if JANUVIA will pass into your breast milk. Talk with your doctor about the best way to feed your baby if you are taking JANUVIA.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines and show it to your doctor and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

How should I take JANUVIA?

- Take JANUVIA exactly as your doctor tells you to take it.
- Take JANUVIA by mouth once a day.
- Take JANUVIA with or without food.
- If you have kidney problems, your doctor may prescribe lower doses of JANUVIA. Your doctor may perform blood tests on you from time to time to measure how well your kidneys are working.
- Your doctor may prescribe JANUVIA along with certain other medicines that lower blood sugar.
- If you miss a dose, take it as soon as you remember. If you do not remember until it is time for your next dose, skip the missed dose and go back to your regular schedule. Do not take two doses of JANUVIA at the same time.
- If you take too much JANUVIA, call your doctor or local Poison Control Center right away.
- When your body is under some types of stress, such as fever, trauma (such as a car accident), infection or surgery, the amount of diabetes medicine that you need may change. Tell your doctor right away if you have any of these conditions and follow your doctor's instructions.
- Monitor your blood sugar as your doctor tells you to.

- Stay on your prescribed diet and exercise program while taking JANUVIA.
- Talk to your doctor about how to prevent, recognize and manage low blood sugar (hypoglycemia), high blood sugar (hyperglycemia), and complications of diabetes.
- Your doctor will monitor your diabetes with regular blood tests, including your blood sugar levels and your hemoglobin A1C.

What are the possible side effects of JANUVIA?

The most common side effects of JANUVIA include:

- Upper respiratory infection
- Stuffy or runny nose and sore throat
- Headache

JANUVIA may occasionally cause stomach discomfort and diarrhea.

When JANUVIA is used in combination with another type of diabetes medicine known as a sulfonylurea, low blood sugar (hypoglycemia) due to the sulfonylurea can occur. Your doctor may prescribe lower doses of the sulfonylurea medicine.

The following additional side effects have been reported in general use with JANUVIA:

- Allergic reactions, which may be serious, including rash, hives, and swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and throat that may cause difficulty in breathing or swallowing. If you have an allergic reaction, stop taking JANUVIA and call your doctor right away. Your doctor may prescribe a medication to treat your allergic reaction and a different medication for your diabetes.

Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. Other side effects may occur when using JANUVIA. For more information, ask your doctor.

How should I store JANUVIA?

- Store JANUVIA at room temperature, 68 to 77°F (20 to 25°C).

Keep JANUVIA and all medicines out of the reach of children.

General information about the use of JANUVIA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use JANUVIA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give JANUVIA to other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have. It may harm them.

This leaflet summarizes the most important information about JANUVIA. If you would like to know more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for additional information about JANUVIA that is written for health professionals. For more information call 1-800-622-4477.

What are the ingredients in JANUVIA?

Active ingredient: sitagliptin

Inactive ingredients: microcrystalline cellulose, anhydrous dibasic calcium phosphate, croscarmellose sodium, magnesium stearate, and sodium stearyl fumarate. The tablet film coating contains the following inactive ingredients: polyvinyl alcohol, polyethylene glycol, talc, titanium dioxide, red iron oxide, and yellow iron oxide.

What is type 2 diabetes?

Type 2 diabetes is a condition in which your body does not make enough insulin, and the insulin that your body produces does not work as well as it should. Your body can also make too much sugar. When this happens, sugar (glucose) builds up in the blood. This can lead to serious medical problems.

The main goal of treating diabetes is to lower your blood sugar to a normal level. Lowering and controlling blood sugar may help prevent or delay complications of diabetes, such as heart disease, kidney disease, blindness, and amputation.

High blood sugar can be lowered by diet and exercise, and by certain medicines when necessary.

Revised July 2008

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the Star-Spangled Banner inspired Francis Scott Key to pen
the poem that became our national anthem.

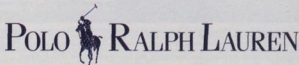
Now, the flag is making history again with the completion
of a 10-year conservation project.

Made possible with major support from Polo Ralph Lauren
and other donors, the aim of the flag's conservation was to preserve
the marks of two centuries of American history and
the many hands that have cared for it.

You are invited to visit the flag in the dramatic new
Star-Spangled Banner Gallery at the Smithsonian's National
Museum of American History, opening November 21, 2008.



Smithsonian
National Museum of American History
Kenneth E. Behring Center
americanhistory.si.edu



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provides the latest updates on
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healthy living.



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with Dr. Sanjay Gupta
Saturdays and Sundays, 8:30 a.m. ET

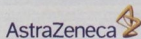
Look for Dr. Gupta's
column in TIME.



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As John Budris of *Boston Globe Magazine* reported about the 3·2·1 GS Series II system, "the sound performance rivals that of more expensive five satellite units." And now, an HDMI output makes it even easier to connect this system to your HDTV. Plus, it can unconvert DVDs to 1080p.

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'[Boomers] are looking for access—they want to go behind the scenes.'

AMY KOTKIN, SMITHSONIAN JOURNEYS

Pursuits

WINEMAKING TRAVEL GIVING BACK



French toast Loire Valley vintners Pierre and Catherine Breton at Domaine Breton, a vineyard that specializes in naturally produced wines

WINEMAKING

Natural Instincts. A passion for organically grown grapes has put two Loire Valley vintners on France's essential wine list

BY SUSAN SACHS/RESTIGNE

"YOU DON'T WANT A WORLD POPULATED only by tall blondes with blue eyes, and it's the same with wine," says Pierre Breton, a wiry and intensely serious Loire Valley producer of natural wines. "Wines are for pleasure. They inspire creativity. They stimulate conversation. Why would we want them to all have the same identity?"

People are naturally passionate about wine in this part of France, where soldierly rows of gnarled grapevines march all the way to the horizon. But there's passion, and then there's passion, as soon becomes clear when one talks with Breton and his wife Catherine, co-owners of the Domaine Breton vineyard in Restigné, just outside Tours.

They are the vanguard of a growing movement that aims to take the art of wine-

making back to its roots, before the days of pesticides, chemical fertilizers, commercial flavoring agents and sometimes heavy-handed doses of preservatives like sulfites. By offering wines made with an artisan's flair, and produced from organically grown grapes to boot, vintners like the Bretons are building a niche market among consumers who are perpetually searching for the authentic.



Vine ripe Grapes at Domaine Breton, top; Catherine Breton checks the fruit



Natural-wine purists like the Bretons, whose 27 acres (11 hectares) of vineyards produce Bourgueil, Chinon and Vouvray wines, believe that the conventional method of making wine not only pollutes the environment but also produces boringly uniform wine.

Their alternative approach is to meddle as little as possible in the transformation of grapes into wine. They do not treat the vines or the fruit with anything other than natural products. They pick the fruit by hand to avoid compacting the earth with machines.

It is an altogether more labor-intensive, and ultimately costlier, way of doing business. But the biggest difference from standard winemaking comes after the harvest, during the precisely choreographed process of pressing, fermenting and aging, which largely determines a wine's structure and taste. That is when everything comes together—the personality of the

fruit, the properties of the soil, the woodiness of the barrel and the caprices of that summer's weather—and the wine gets its chance to express itself.

And so does the winemaker. The makers of natural wine maintain that the additives and yeasts used by more orthodox vintners can stabilize a wine to death, muting the distinctive variations that should stand out because of different grape varieties and settings. "It's like being the con-

'It's like being the conductor of an orchestra. Each of us begins with the same ingredients, but like conductors, we produce different music.'

—PIERRE BRETON, DOMAINE BRETON

ductor of an orchestra," says Pierre Breton, whose wines are made with naturally occurring native yeasts and a bare minimum of sulfite as an antibacterial agent and antioxidant. "Each of us begins with the same ingredients," he says. "But like conductors, we produce different music in our wines from the same score."

Not everyone in the wine world believes that natural wines are necessarily better than wines made by skilled and conscientious vintners using more high-tech methods. Some critics say the natural-wine disciples take themselves much too seriously. In an article earlier this year in the French daily *Le Monde*, wine writer Jean-Yves Nau joked that they consider sulfites, which are generally added before bottling to help preserve wines, "the chemical reincarnation of the devil."

But in the past few years, the movement toward more holistic winemaking has attracted more and more converts. A number of Paris restaurants and bars, among them La Muse Vin, near the Place de la Bastille, and Le Baratin, in the rapidly gentrifying Belleville neighborhood, make a point of serving wines from producers like the Bretons. These wines are also a particular favorite of independent wine stores, like Le Vin se Livre, in the 12th arrondissement, that look for original, lesser-known wines that stand out from the blur of labels offered by chain stores.

Nearly every wine-growing region of France has enthusiasts who have switched to organic farming and chemical-free winemaking. Most of these vineyards are small, family-owned ventures run by proud iconoclasts who describe their methods in almost mystical terms. Some are so picky about doing things the way they were done a century ago that they use horse-drawn carts in cultivating their vines. Many natural-wine producers also follow the principles of biodynamic farming, with its attention to the phases of the moon and the movement of the planets, set out in the early 20th century by the Austrian philosopher Rudolf Steiner.

But natural winemaking is not just the domain of a few small-scale nonconformists. Some of the most revered appellations also have dedicated practitioners, among them a producer of the select Romanée-Conti wines of Burgundy, the Champagne producer Anselme Selosse and a number of respected vineyards in the Beaujolais, Bordeaux and Alsace regions.

"There are now about 200 natural winemakers in France, while 30 years ago there were perhaps 15," says Marc Sibard, who

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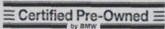
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Cooling off Domaine Breton's cave, above, and three of the Loire vineyard's natural wines, right

runs Caves Augé, a large central-Paris wine store where natural wines represent about 70% of all the bottles in stock.

Sibard, a longtime crusader for the cause of organic and natural wines, has been selling them in his store for 25 years. "It's still somewhat of an underground culture," he says, noting that the people who dare to produce them are too often dismissed as impractical dreamers or rebuffed by distributors who want more familiar, and less fragile, "industrial" wines for export and for sale to big supermarket chains.

Yet Sibard has found that demand is growing. "We are specialists," he says. "We have a demand from clients because we're lucky enough to be in Paris, where people have the wherewithal to buy good wine,

and many of them understand that it's better to drink one good bottle at 20 euros [\$26] that's produced honestly than to buy three bottles at 6 euros [\$8] each that were produced industrially."

Natural winemakers may be zealous about their methods, but it cannot be said that they lack a sense of humor. The bottles crowding the floor and every shelf in Caves Augé attest to that. One vineyard has a wine called *Soif du Mal*, the French title of Orson Welles' film *Touch of Evil*. Another has named one of its wines *Gama Sutra*, apparently with an eye to the Asian market. One producer includes the guarantee that his grapes were "picked by people in thongs." The Bretons offer a wine called *Nuits d'Ivresse* (Drunken Nights) and another called *La Dilettante*.

For all their whimsy, these wines are beginning to make a splash in international markets. "In the early days, there were some that really weren't good advertisements for organic wine," says Kermit Lynch, a major California wine merchant who was a pioneer in selling natural and organic wines to U.S. consumers in the 1980s. "But there is a real niche now of people who are interested in those kinds of wines."



Lynch, who imports many of the Bretons' wines, owns a vineyard near Gigondas, in southern France. He has not converted to organic or biodynamic production, but he says he agrees with the natural winemakers' argument that too many wines are suffocated by overuse of chemicals. "I don't know enough about all that to say that's the way it should be done," he says. "But I've had winemakers tell me that since they changed, they are getting better juice. And better juice means better wines." ■

'I've had winemakers tell me that since they changed [to natural production], they are getting better juice. And better juice means better wines.'

—KERMIT LYNCH, WINE MERCHANT



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River run A Smithsonian trip along the Gambia River in West Africa



TRAVEL

An Exotic Education. Smithsonian Journeys organizes the most over-the-top trips imaginable. And they sell out

MANY AFFLUENT TRAVELERS ARE NUDGING aside traditional escapes for more educational fare. Even in the midst of an economic downturn, private-jet tours costing \$45,000 or more for a few weeks of learning about places like Easter Island and Mali are heading out full, some with wait lists. Barbara Isenberg talks with Amy Kotkin, director of Smithsonian Journeys, the largest U.S. museum-based educational-travel program.



Although the Smithsonian's been offering educational tours for nearly 40 years, the marketplace seems to have expanded in the past few years. Any thoughts on why? There are more boomers who are retiring and who have an unprecedented amount of wealth and education. They're looking for access—they want to go behind the scenes where people aren't generally allowed, and they're looking for insight from experts. They want authentic experiences, but they want to be comfortable.

What instigated the around-the-world trips in private jets?

A few college-alumni and museum-affinity groups were offering private-jet trips in the

mid-1990s, and we began ours in 2001. At first, we didn't think our travelers would buy this product. It was much more expensive than anything we had previously offered. But they proved to be very popular.

How do you decide where to go and then manage to pull it off?

You have to work very closely with the jet-tour provider. Our current provider, Starquest, generally uses Boeing 757s specially configured with 88 VIP-style seats instead of the standard 228, and they have to know where those planes can land. They need to know what destinations have the infrastructure—hotels, guides, places to eat—to accommodate a group of 88 people comfortably.

How do these jet trips sell in a tough economy?

Our Extraordinary Cultures trip in March '09 is almost full. We usually start selling those tours 16 months in advance. Our 34-person Lands of the Great Buddha trip, which sold out this year, will go out again in September '09 to China, Japan, Mongolia, Bhutan and India to see how Buddhism evolved in those countries.

What about tours for the rest of us?

We offer about 250 escorted educational tours a year. Our Signature Tours,

which are higher-end, are accompanied throughout by an academic, and our lower-priced Travel Adventures have local lecturers who meet up with you along the way. If you're going to the Great Barrier Reef, for instance, you'll meet with a marine biologist, and if you go to Iceland, we'll make sure there are talks by geologists.

In other words, the idea is to get travelers to places and people they couldn't find so easily on their own?


Yes. We also do one-off trips where we can provide special access to what is already an exciting event, like a major golf match or the Toronto Film Festival. One of our perennials is a Mystery Lover's tour of England and Scotland where travelers meet mystery writers and visit places where mysteries take place.

Given how different these tours are from one another, what do they have in common?

Our tour operators share our notion of good itinerary-planning for this market. Often that means slowing it down and spending enough time in key places to let people absorb what they're seeing at a reasonable pace.

Have you noticed any commonalities among the people who travel with you?

When you sign up for a learning vacation rather than having fun in the sun, that's the first cut. When people unite around a special interest and are willing to travel to faraway places, the likelihood of their being with other people who share that passion is very high. ■



What is the sign of a good decision?

It's the excitement of knowing retirement is just around the corner. And the peace of mind that comes from being prepared for it.

You've made good decisions to get where you are. Now make one that can take you even further. Discover the financial strength of MassMutual. From innovative ways to save for retirement to our AAA financial strength rating from Standard & Poor's,¹ we focus on helping you secure the income you need to retire. And giving you the confidence of knowing you made a good decision.

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New luxury Taytu bags are handwoven and crafted by Ethiopian leather and textile producers

GIVING BACK

Purse Strings. Taytu's handbags are more than just desirable accessories; they create jobs for craftsmen in Ethiopia

BY MARION HUME

THERE'S AN OLD ETHIOPIAN SAYING THAT spiderwebs joined together can catch a lion. Taytu—the name comes from a legendarily strong-willed Ethiopian empress—is a company composed of small leather and handwoven-textile producers in and around Addis Ababa. Collectively, these craftsmen are achieving what they could never have accomplished on their own: they've established the first luxury label in one of the poorest countries on earth. Barneys New York and Fred Segal in Santa Monica, Calif., are among Taytu's growing and loyal customer base. Those are some high-profile lions.

Taytu (taytu.com), which is endowed with long-term support from the NGOs U.S. Agency for International Development and U.N. Industrial Development Organization, began five years ago with the idea that fashion buyers in developed nations would buy Ethiopian luxury products—in this case, ornate leather handbags and beautiful one-off scarves—if the goods they were being offered were sophisticated, in tune with current

trends and still authentic and well made in the tradition of this ancient African civilization.

Creative support came in the form of a few designers and fashion technicians, including Italians Ambrogio (Gino) Malinverni, who trained the craftsmen in their own factories and workshops, and Barbara Guarducci, a fashion consultant who has since taken the helm of a design collective in Bangladesh. Joining them is American marketing consultant Holly Hikido, who works with design consultants at brands like Missoni and Fendi.

In November 2007, Taytu opened a tiny store in chaotic Addis Ababa, where handbags and scarves are displayed

on old coffee-grinding tables that are set against a backdrop of hand-painted flowers. But Taytu-produced goods could turn up in ever more sophisticated surroundings. The 250 or so Ethiopians earning a living because of the company are also manufacturing small sample runs for some of fashion's top names. New York City-based brand Theory, for example, has placed an order for scarves and bags with the aim of selling them under the label Taytu for Theory at its Manhattan flagship store. Model turned humanitarian Liya Kebede, who produces her line of children's wear, Lemlem, in her native Ethiopia, also uses Taytu as one of her resources.

"Working in Addis is exciting and challenging," says Hikido, who laughs when she recalls the time she requested a courier and a man on a donkey turned up. "But the package made the flight, and we got an order from Paris." The aim is for Taytu to expand in a way that is both ethical and ecologically sound while those involved acquire the technical know-how, business skills and fashion contacts to make this web of small businesses self-sufficient and strong. ■

Taytu began with the idea that fashion buyers in developed nations would buy Ethiopian luxury products—in this case, ornate leather handbags and one-off scarves

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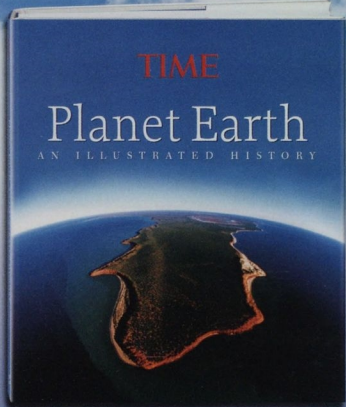
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A nice movie about two friends
who try to make a naughty one

MOVIES, PAGE 125

Arts

PHOTOGRAPHY BOOKS MOVIES SHORT LIST



Untitled (St. Simons Island, Georgia), 1978

PHOTOGRAPHY

Light Fantastic. William Eggleston didn't just make color respectable. He made banality seem, well, colorful

BY RICHARD LACAYO

THIRTY-TWO YEARS AGO, THE PHOTOGRAPHER William Eggleston leaped from obscurity to notoriety with an art-world debut that the *New York Times* called "the most hated show of the year." It was a fancy dive from the most visible platform there could be, the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. "William Eggleston's Guide," it was called, as though he were taking you on a tour, but one prone to dwell on the sketchiest roadside attractions. In a photo by Eggleston there might be a sunbeam that sweetly anoints a full

dish rack on a white sink. There might also be a dismal suburban tract house or a bunch of plastic bottles scattered across a dirt road. It was a make-of-it-what-you-will exhibition, and a lot of critics didn't know what to make of it. The *Times* critic called it "perfectly boring."

What made it all the more challenging was that Eggleston worked in color. In 1976 serious photographers were expected to work in black and white, and most museums assumed that camera art could be made only within the palette you might find in a cinder block. And then there were Eggleston's pictures of places where no one had ever bothered to point a camera before, like the green tiled interior of an empty shower stall or the strangely mesmerizing blackness of an open kitchen oven. In 1961 photographer Robert Frank said, "You can photograph anything now." But it took Eggleston to prove it.

"When I was taking that oven picture," Eggleston says today, "I thought the results would be unlike any other picture I had seen. You just don't encounter too many pictures of open ovens." All these years later, you still don't, but his work is no longer so puzzling. What it is instead is famous, influential and even venerated, the kind of work that gets you a big retrospective like the one opening on Nov. 7 at the Whitney Museum of American Art in Manhattan and traveling to Munich and Washington. With about 150 photos and two videos, including a rather loopy one from the early 1970s, "William Eggleston: Democratic Camera" will be the largest American museum show ever devoted to his work. And this time, no one will be bored.

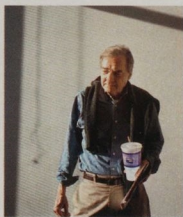
Eggleston is what you might call a bohemian of independent means, a descendant of the Mississippi Delta planter aristocracy who was also for a time the lover of Viva, the Andy Warhol superstar. Since the mid-1960s, he has lived, comfortably and at full throttle, in Memphis, Tenn.

When he comes to the door, he's in his customary Wasp regalia, a button-down cotton shirt and white suede shoes. Quantities of nicotine and bourbon have produced his voice, a liquid Southern baritone that reminds you of his friend Shelby Foote. It's a voice he dispenses in small doses. What that means is that he can stretch a sentence into next week while

he deliberates on his next syllable or two.

He has lived an interesting life. At 69, Eggleston has been married to his wife Rosa for 44 years and raised three children. But his definition of wedlock has been elastic enough to permit numerous girlfriends and affairs. He has been known to shoot indoors—guns, not just pictures. There have been various run-ins with the law. And over the years, he's been the best of friends with Jim Beam and Jack Daniel's. He's also been one of the most original artists of your lifetime.

Eggleston's maternal grandfather, a judge in Sumner, Miss., owned a sizable cotton plantation. After Eggleston's father shipped off to the Pacific in World War II, the boy and his mother shuttled for years between Florida and his grandparents'



Eggleston, in Memphis, 2004

places in Mississippi. Eggleston preferred their house in town to the plantation. "Life in the country was sort of remote," he says. "It was lonely. There was nothing in every direction but cotton fields."

Because he suffered from asthma as a boy, Eggleston was mostly an indoor child, absorbed by the piano, cameras and sound equipment. Later he attended a few colleges, including Vanderbilt and the University of Mississippi, without managing to graduate from any. But at Ole Miss, where he studied painting, he started to wonder seriously about photography. And by the early '70s, he had come upon dye-transfer printing, a method that produces deeply saturated color. This is why, when he makes a picture of a rooftop sign that reads PEACHES!, the orange letters just about sear your retina.

Though he's widely traveled and keeps an apartment in Paris, Eggleston has worked mostly in the South. All the same, it makes him squirm to hear people describe him as a regional artist—Faulkner

with a Leica. "I have never considered myself making what one would call Southern art," he says. "There is such a thing, but I don't do it." He insists he's not interested in local color, though there's no denying that it finds its way into a lot of his images. "The pictures look Southern because that's where they were taken," he says with a shrug. "I don't know how to make them look any other way, unless I go changing the landscape around here with chainsaws."

Eggleston also doesn't like the term *snapshot aesthetic*, but from early on, just like Garry Winogrand and Lee Friedlander, he's been making pictures that are brilliantly open to the flotsam of the visible world, the little accidents of vision and oddball details that snapshots automatically gather up. He is fascinated by American junk-space, the banal stretches of tract housing and strip malls. But there's nothing camp or ironic about Eggleston's work. The power of his pictures rests on their casual but absolute sincerity, their conviction that small is beautiful. There's something very American about this, a valorization of the commonplace, carried to a level of intensity that can curl your toes. Looking at his picture of a soda bottle simply perched on the hood of a car, you can't help thinking of what Henry James once wrote about Nathaniel Hawthorne: "The minuteness of the things that attract his attention, and that he deems worthy of being commemorated, is frequently extreme."

Eggleston has said he doesn't make a distinction between one image and another. So how does he choose which ones to publish or exhibit? "I don't," he says. And he means it. His working method is to take hundreds, even thousands of pictures—though rarely more than one shot of any particular scene—and let his curator or editors sort it out. For "William Eggleston's Guide," John Szarkowski, the legendary MOMA photo curator, effectively served a role like the one that editor Maxwell Perkins played for novelist Thomas Wolfe, drawing a meaningful work out of a superabundant output.

Eggleston isn't a religious man. "Oh, no, just the opposite," he says. "The idea of a soul to me is ridiculous." But there's a kind of spirituality in his pictures, an assent to things as they are and a conviction that the whole of creation is worth your careful attention. Look at his picture of a grocery boy pushing a rack of carts, or a hand stirring a drink on a flight, and you can't help realizing that, even in its most incidental corners, it's a bright, beckoning world out there. And that there's nothing boring about it. ■



Steady Art Beat

Richard Lacayo blogs daily about art and architecture at time.com/lookingaround



Untitled, 1973



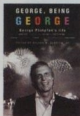
Untitled, no date



Untitled, no date

BOOKS

Charmed Life. A biography of George Plimpton reveals the professional amateur in the eyes of his beholders



FIRST LINE

I don't know whether most people have a yearning for ecstatic experience, but George certainly did, and it was no secret.

Plimpton at play Even his cat found him charming

BY JOSH TYRANGIEL

THE MOST GRATIFYING THING about the new George Plimpton biography, *George, Being George* (Random House; 423 pages), is that it is nearly as much fun as George Plimpton. For the bulk of his 76 years, Plimpton—the Wasp bohemian who quarterbacked the Detroit Lions, danced at Truman Capote's Black and White Ball, set off more fireworks than a thousand juvenile delinquents and edited America's greatest literary journal for 50 years before his death in 2003—was educated society's unofficial mayor of good times. Who else could box a few rounds with Archie Moore, trade stanzas with Marianne Moore and make a living by pointing out his inadequacy at both?

Plimpton's fame and glaring idiosyncrasies (born and raised in New York City, he spoke as if he were always dashing off to a regatta) make him the perfect subject for a code-cracking biography, the kind

that lays bare the man and his motivations. *George, Being George* does the trick, in part by borrowing the form of Plimpton's own biographies of Capote and Edie Sedgwick (Jean Stein's *Edie: American Girl*, which he edited). Recognizing that Plimpton's spirit would suffocate under the weight of analytic prose, editor Nelson Aldrich Jr. interviewed more than 200 verbally dexterous Plimpton associates—from Norman Mailer (adoring) and Gay Talese (brutally adoring) to the Plimptons' nanny—and constructed a narrative out of their most entertaining paragraphs. It's biography as cocktail party.

Early on, *George, Being George* doubles as a comic history of the

Who else could box a few rounds with Archie Moore and trade stanzas with Marianne Moore?

élite. There's the *Mayflower* ancestry and the expulsion from Exeter—followed by a Harvard acceptance letter. ("It was a little easier to get into Harvard in those days," recalls Plimpton's brother Oakes.) The founding of *The Paris Review* offers proof that enthusiasm can trump disorganization, but Plimpton doesn't come into focus until his brief engagement to Bee Dabney, who dumps him for a friend at their engagement party. Dabney tells the tale here, but it was hardly a secret; Plimpton dined out on it for years. "That was quintessential George," says John Heminway. "He took such pleasure in telling a story about what great sadness he'd had."

Not long after, Plimpton created participatory journalism, foisting himself into ball games and orchestra pits (his absentminded triangle-playing infuriated Leonard Bernstein), where his earnest failures made for excellent pieces. What comes through in each episode is Plimpton's unquenchable curiosity, a love of human folly—especially his own—and a modern shrewdness; his fame as a professional amateur begot more fame, which gave him even greater access.

Almost everyone mentions his generosity, particularly bottomless when it came to *The Paris Review*, which he ran out of his home for decades. But what radiates is a person of massive charm, entirely at ease with his own unease. Muhammad Ali, sensing someone who got the joke about himself, called Plimpton "Kennedy," while the actual Kennedys welcomed him into their lives as a confidant. It was Plimpton, at Bobby's side, who wrestled the gun away from Sirhan Sirhan, a rare example of sadness that he did not mine for storytelling.

It's an odd criticism for a book composed of friendly recollections, but if anything, *George, Being George* is a bit too harsh. It may be true that he had a serious drinking problem in his declining years and was a rather horrible person to be married to, but those themes send the book out on a minor chord, particularly as friends recall Plimpton's lingering regret that he never took a proper crack at the great American novel. The rest of *George, Being George* proves he created something just as valuable: a great American character. ■



PLIMPTON: NANCY CAMPBELL

MOVIES

Sex, Pals and Videotape. As Zack and Miri make their porno, Kevin Smith loses his mojo, then finds it again

BY RICHARD CORLISS

ROMANTIC COMEDIES OFTEN MAKE DO ON flimsy premises, but this one is thinner than Kate Moss and nuttier than an Almond Joy. Attend: Zack (Seth Rogen) and Miri (Elizabeth Banks) are close friends and functioning heterosexuals who somehow have lived together without having sex or, for that matter, coveting it. When grinding poverty forces them to raise money quick, Zack suggests that they appear in a porno movie and sell it on the Internet. Purely an economic decision, you see, no concupiscence involved—though we know Rogen from his Judd Apatow movies as a perpetual horn dog, and Banks (Laura Bush in Oliver Stone's *W*) is such an appealing presence, she could copyright Cute.

Preposterous or not, this is way more

Color them blue Rogen and Banks as a nice couple who decide to produce a naughty movie



plot than Kevin Smith, the writer-director of *Zack and Miri Make a Porno*, used to get by on. His first film, *Clerks*, was little more than guys talking, and that was enough, since Smith not only knew all the bad words but also could twist them into illuminating comedy. In *Chasing Amy*, he found the poignancy in male bluster, the warmth in a guy's rivalry with and veneration of that other species, *The Girl*.

In *Zack and Miri*, Smith flounders for a while in situations and gags that are frankly sub-Smithian. It's as if Apatow has swiped his mojo and Smith can't get it back. As he constructs his rickety thesis, with Zack and Miri recruiting cast and crew for their X-rated masterpiece, the one spark of comedy brilliance is provided by Justin Long (the Mac guy in the Mac commercials) as a frog-throated gay porn star.

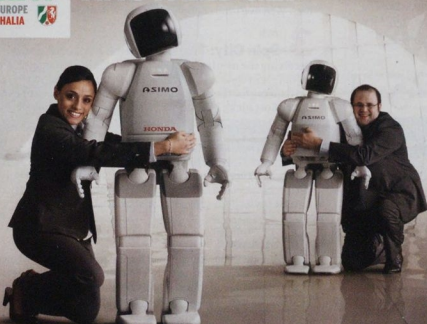
The film was initially rated NC-17, winning an R on appeal; it has a possibly unprecedented poo scene, but it's pretty tame erotically. It ought to be called *Zack and Miri Try to Make a Porno and Fall in Love*. When they finally get it on, Rogen and Banks reveal a benign chemistry, and the film dissolves all reservations as Smith relocates his vibe. At 38, the grand old man of raunch talk has figured out how to make a movie that's sweet, funny and (a little) sexy. ■

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Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



1 TELEVISION 30 Rock

She says she's giving up doing Sarah Palin, but after Tina Fey's killer SNL impression, her other vehicle returns strong. Nov. 6 brings a cameo by Oprah Winfrey, to whom Fey's TV producer, Liz Lemon, cries, "My work-self is suffocating my life-me!" We like both of her just fine.

2 DVD Mystery Science Theater 3000

Cable's first and coolest nerd-genius hit, *MST3K* elevated a derisory premise—a guy and two robots riff on cheesy movies—into glorious comic art. This 20th anniversary edition contains four episodes (the best: *Werewolf*) and enough goofy extras to make any MSTie mist up.

3 DVD Spin City: The Complete First Season

Deceiving the media was never more delightful than in this 1996 sitcom set in New York's city hall. As Deputy Mayor Mike Flaherty, tap-dancing for the press while managing a gaffe-machine mayor (Barry Bostwick), Michael J. Fox is a breath of fresh hot air.

4 VIDEO GAME LittleBigPlanet

There aren't a ton of games that make buying the PS3 worth the money, but *LittleBigPlanet* is one of them. It's a game/creativity tool in which you play a little fabric doll that wanders through a rich, dreamy toyscape to the soothing sounds of light jazz.

5 MOVIE Splinter

Seen enough of the *Saw* movies? For harrowing Halloween chills, try Toby Wilkins' lean, nasty tale of four people (including thug Shea Whigham and dweeb Paulo Costanzo) battling a porcupine parasite. It's like *Night of the Living Dead* but with prickles.



Arts Online

For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to time.com/entertainment



Business Ethics 101

"Can we teach ethics? Yes. Does it change behavior? Maybe."

—**Mohammad J. Abdolmohammadi**, DBA, CPA, John E. Rhodes Professor of Accounting, Bentley University

Bentley Professor Mohammad Abdolmohammadi has investigated issues related to ethics and accounting for more than 20 years. Here, he answers questions about moral reasoning, ethical behavior and why business ethics courses are more important than ever.

Q: Every time there's a high-profile accounting scandal there's a renewed focus on ethical training. Can ethics really be taught?

Yes and no. Studies show that we may be able to teach people to recognize moral dilemmas and use moral reasoning, or judgment, but ethical behavior—"doing the right thing"—is also influenced by motivation and character—and those are harder to teach.

So a better question might be, can ethics be learned? Our studies with accounting graduate students show that ethics training can be effective. The moral reasoning scores of our students improve significantly by the end of each semester—they do learn.

One of your recent studies looked at academic dishonesty and plagiarism on university campuses.

Yes, we wondered if ethics training might help reduce the incidence of plagiarism, which, thanks to the Internet, is a widespread problem. Our research, conducted with accounting students, shows that ethics courses that are designed to improve moral reasoning may help reduce plagiarism. Students with higher moral reasoning are less likely to cheat.

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Professor Abdolmohammadi discusses his work at Bentley.edu/research





Michael

Kinsley

That Wealth Spreader. Connect the dots in our cultural history and it all becomes clear: Barack Obama is a communist!

IN THE 1943 MOVIE *TENDER COMRADE*, GINGER ROGERS utters the words "Share and share alike—that's democracy." Nobody objected at the time, but four years later, Rogers' mother complained to the House Un-American Activities Committee that her daughter had been forced to express a communist sentiment. The scriptwriter, Dalton Trumbo (who actually was a communist), went to jail for refusing to testify and then spent years on the Hollywood blacklist, unable to get work. But "share and share alike" has been rehabilitated and restored to its place of honor as one of America's finest bromides.

So what future awaits "spread the wealth," a similar bromide uttered by Barack Obama to Joe the Plumber at a rally in Ohio? The history of this expression can also be traced to a movie: *Hello, Dolly*, released in 1969 and never before now regarded as subversive. But perhaps it deserves a closer look. It starred Barbra Streisand, a notorious Hollywood lefty who also starred in *The Way We Were*, the 1973 weepie that glamorized frizzy-haired communists and left-wing agitators from New York City and derided real Americans like handsome blond Robert Redford. In *Hello, Dolly*, Streisand plays a professional matchmaker who has her eye on Walter Matthau, playing a "well-known unmarried half-a-millionaire." At a key moment, she declares, "Money, pardon the expression, is like manure. It's not worth a thing unless it's spread around." Where was Streisand's mother while this outrage was being perpetrated?

Wait. It gets worse. *Hello, Dolly* is one of many versions of *The Matchmaker*, a play by Thornton Wilder, author of *Our Town* and other treachery warhorses of the American theater. Over the years, millions of American children have had to sit through what once was viewed as sentimental propaganda and therefore good for them. Many impressionable young people have even been forced to say the line about spreading money around in student productions of *The Matchmaker*, taking innocent pleasure in the joke about manure while their little minds were being polluted with redistributionist propaganda. While I remember Wilder's plays as being flag-draped, I read in Wikipedia that his major theme was "the universality of the simple yet meaningful lives of all people in the world." Also, he was gay. So much for him.

John McCain thinks Obama's "spread the wealth" comment is a major gotcha. He has locked his chops around this remark like a terrier around Obama's ankle and keeps repeating it. He regards it as self-evidently self-damning. On *Meet the Press*, McCain ducked Tom Brokaw's invitation to agree or disagree with Sarah Palin that Obama is a "socialist." But a day later McCain brandished a radio interview from seven years ago in which Obama had used the term *redistributive change*.

Seven years ago, as Brokaw pointed out, McCain himself was sounding redistributionist, complaining about President Bush's tax cuts. Campaigning against Bush in 2000, he said that "when you ... reach a certain level of comfort, there's nothing wrong with paying somewhat more." Obama has said no more than this, except to set the "level of comfort" at \$250,000, which is pretty comfortable. McCain is free to argue that Obama will raise taxes on people making less than \$250,000. My bet is that whoever wins the election will be forced to. But his apparent belief that the very expression "spread the wealth" puts Obama beyond the pale is so out of touch that it's almost touching. It belongs on the golf courses of Arizona, not on the campaign trail.

We may disagree on how much to spread around and how to go about it.

We all tend to think that it's someone else's wealth that needs to be spread around and that it ought to be spread in our direction. But the principle that the unequal distribution of wealth is a legitimate concern and government policies should mitigate it has been part of American democracy since at least the New Deal. In fact, it is a commonplace that the moderate wealth-spreading of the New Deal saved American democracy. Today collecting checks from people and issuing checks to other people—or the same people—is the government's main domestic activity.

Although it was an off-the-cuff remark and one that Obama probably regrets, he actually put it well, avoiding the suggestion of envy or class war, which are the usual accusations about such talk. Spreading it around is "good for everybody," he says. And who disagrees? Or would you like to live behind locked gates and hire guards to protect your family from kidnapping, as in places where they spread it around even less than here?



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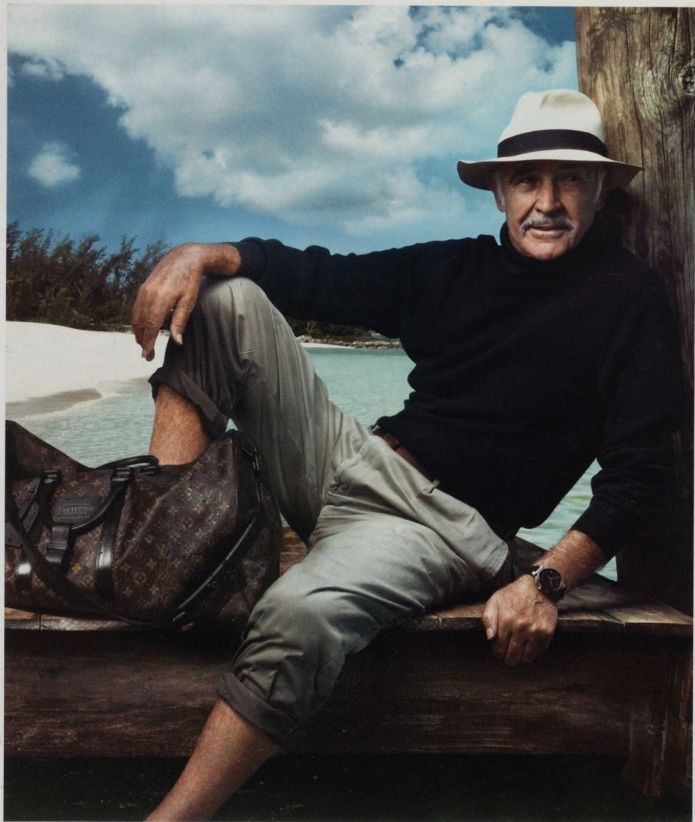
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